Groseilliers and Radisson

MAP SHOWING THE ROUTES OF GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, AND THE PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, THE FIRST WHITE MEN IN MINNESOTA, 1655–56, AND 1659–60, AND THEIR DISCOVERY OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER.*

BY THE SECRETARY, WARREN UPHAM.

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Publication of Radisson's Manuscripts .

The narratives of the earliest travels and exploration by Europeans within the area that is now Minnesota, written by one of the two hardy adventurers whose experiences are there chronicled, remained unknown to historians during more than two hundred years. This precious manuscript record, beginning the history of the occupation of our state by white men, is said by its editor, Gideon D. Scull, of London, to have been “for some time the property of Samuel Pepys, the well-known diarist, and Secretary of the Admiralty to Charles II and James II. He probably received it,” as the editor further states, “from Sir George Cartaret, the Vice-Chamberlain of the King and Treasurer of the Navy, for whom it was no doubt carefully copied out from his rough notes by the author, so that it might, through him, be brought under the notice of Charles II. Some years after the death of Pepys, in 1703, his collection of manuscripts was dispersed and fell into the hands of various London tradesmen, who bought parcels of it to use in their shops as waste-paper. The most valuable portions were carefully reclaimed by the celebrated collector, Richard Rawlinson.” The papers relating the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson to the upper

Laurentian lakes and the upper Mississippi river came into the possession of the 29 450 Bodleian Library, at Oxford University; and other manuscripts, relating their service later for the Hudson Bay Company, were purchased by the British Museum.

In these two largest libraries of England, the quaint narratives of Radisson rested in quiet until less than twenty years ago they were published by the Prince Society of Boston, which is devoted to the preservation and publication of rare original documents relating to early American history. The title-page reads as follows: “Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from original Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With Historical Illustrations and an Introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England. Boston: Published by the Prince Society, 1885.” It is a small quarto book of 385 pages. The edition was limited to two hundred and fifty copies, one of which is in the Library of this Historical Society, and another in the Duluth Public Library.

By this book Groseilliers and Radisson are made known to the world as the first Europeans to reach the upper Mississippi and to traverse parts of Minnesota. It is a source of much regret, however, that Radisson is found to claim more discoveries than can be true. His narration, besides being very uncouth in style, is exceedingly deficient in dates, sometimes negligent as to the sequence of events, and even here and there discordant and demonstrably untruthful. Therefore much discussion has arisen concerning its significance and historical value.

Biographic Sketches of Groseilliers and Radisson .

Previous to this publication, history had a general outline of the achievements of these remarkable men, who were brothers-in-law, close friends, and lifelong companions in various enterprises demanding great courage and endurance.

Medard Chouart, more commonly known by his assumed title Sieur des Groseilliers,* was born in France, probably near Meaux, in 1621. At the age of twenty years, or perhaps three or four years earlier, he came to Canada. During several years, until

* See the remarks of Dr. Douglas Brymner on this name, as quoted in the Bibliography near the end of this paper.

451 1646, he was in the service of the Jesuits as a layman helper in their missions to the Indians, and thus learned the Huron and Algonquin languages. Afterward he was a fur trader, probably making yearly trips to the country of the Hurons. In 1647 he married Helene, a daughter of Abraham Martin, from whom the historic Plains of Abraham at Quebec received their name. His wife died in 1651, and two years later he married Marguerite, a sister of Radisson. Thenceforward these brothers-in-law were closely associated in important explorations and extension of trade with the Indians of the Northwest and the region of Hudson bay.

Pierre Esprit Radisson was also born in France, probably at St. Malo, a seaport of Brittany. In 1651, at the age of only fifteen or sixteen years, he came to Canada, and lived with his parents at Three Rivers. Previously he had seen Paris, London, Italy, and Turkey, being probably a sailor. In England and from English sailors he may have acquired our language in boyhood, which he afterward wrote with such facility of colloquial and idiomatic expression, in the narratives published by the Prince Society.

The next year after his arrival in Canada, Radisson was captured by a roving band of the Iroquois, with whom he lived about a year in their country, on the Mohawk river. Escaping to Fort Orange (now Albany), he reached New Amsterdam (now New York), and sailed to Holland and thence to Rochelle, France. In the spring of 1654 he returned to Three Rivers in Canada. This captivity is the first of the four “voyages” of Radisson narrated in the published volume.

During the next six years, from 1654 to 1660, Groseilliers and Radisson made two expeditions for exploration and traffic in furs, going farther westward than any white man preceding them. In these expeditions, called voyages by Radisson, they passed beyond the upper great lakes, Michigan and Superior, penetrating to the area of Minnesota; and the narration asserts that in the second expedition they traveled to Hudson bay.

When they returned from the second western expedition, which had been undertaken without permission from the Governor of Canada, he imposed heavy fines upon them, and a duty of 25 per cent. on the value of their furs, together amounting, 452 says Radisson, to 24,000 pounds.* To seek redress for this injustice, Groseilliers went to France, but his appeal was in vain. They next entered the service of Boston merchants, and sailed in a New England ship to Hudson strait in the autumn of 1663; but, on account of the lateness of the season, the captain refused to advance into Hudson bay, where they designed to establish trading posts.

* This was probably meant by Radisson for so many livres, or only about 1,000 pounds, as explained in the later part of this paper where the full quotation appears.

In 1665, having laid their plans for trade in the Hudson Bay region before commissioners of the King of Great Britain, whom he had sent to New York and New England, Groseilliers and Radisson went with one of these commissioners, Sir George Cartwright, to England. Under the patronage of Charles II, they aided in founding the Hudson Bay Company, which received its charter in 1670. The commercial power which they would have preferred to bestow on their own country was thus given to Great Britain.

Radisson about this time married an English wife, the daughter of John Kirke, who became one of the directors of this company.

In 1674, because of a dispute with the Hudson Bay Company, Groseilliers and Radisson transferred their allegiance again to France, and through the next ten years were active in

advancing French colonization and commerce. In their renewed loyalty, they endeavored to supplant the English in the Hudson Bay trade by building a French trading post on the Nelson river, near its mouth, and there captured a New England ship.

During the consequent negotiations, however, between the French and English governments, Groseilliers and Radisson considered themselves unjustly treated by the French court; and, being welcomed back by the directors of the Hudson Bay Company, Radisson once more entered their service. According to his own words, he then, in May, 1684, “passed over to England for good, and of engaging myself so strongly to the service of his Majesty, and to the interests of the Nation, that any other consideration was never able to detach me from it.”

Groseilliers, on the contrary, declined to accept the salary or pension offered to him by the Hudson Bay Company, “twenty shillings per week, if he came from France over to Britain and be true.” Here the brothers-in-law were separated, after 453 thirty years of most intimate association. Nothing further is known of Groseilliers, and it seems probable that he died not long afterward in Canada.

The life of Radisson after this second desertion from France has been recently traced by Prof. George Bryce, through his researches in the archives of the Hudson Bay Company in London. Having sailed from England in May, 684, Radisson traitorously took possession of the chief French trading post of Hudson bay, on the Hayes river, compelling his nephew, the son of Groseilliers, to surrender the post, which was under his command, with a vast quantity (twenty thousand) of valuable peltries that had been collected there. These furs were sold in England for 7,000 pounds. Radisson voyaged later, in 1685, and also in 1687 and 688, to Hudson bay for this company, and he received a pension from it, affording a scanty means of living for himself and his family, until the beginning of the year 1710. As the pension then ceased, it is inferred that he died, probably in London or its vicinity, before the next quarterly date for payment, his age being seventy-four years.

Peculiarities of Radisson's Writings .

The editor states in his introduction to Radisson's narratives: “All his manuscripts have been handed down in perfect preservation. They are written out in a clear and excellent handwriting, showing the writer to have been a person of good education.”

The president of the Prince Society, in his preface of the same volume, says: “The narratives contained in it are the record of events and transactions in which the author was a principal actor. They were apparently written without any intention of publication, and are plainly authentic and trustworthy…The author was a native of France, and had an imperfect knowledge of the English language. The journals, with the exception of the last in the volume, are, however, written in that language, and, as might be anticipated, in orthography, in the use of words, and in the structure of sentences, conform to no known standard of English composition. But the meaning is in all cases clearly conveyed, and, in justice both to the author and reader, they have been printed *verbatim et literatim* , as in the original manuscripts.”

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By extracts given further on, describing the two expeditions to Minnesota, the style of Radisson's writing will be well shown. Many parts of the narration where we should wish quite complete statement are given very briefly or omitted entirely. Other parts, on the contrary, have a fullness of garrulous detail which brings to view very vividly the many adventures, hardships and dangers encountered among the savages, with frequent descriptions of their manner of life in the wigwam, in their rude agriculture, in the hunt, on the war path, and in councils of public deliberation. The details are everywhere consistent with the now well known characteristics of these Indian tribes, and they thus bear decisive testimony that the narrator had actual experience by living long among them.

Radisson had a very thorough familiarity with homely, apt and forcible expressions of our English language, such as could only have been acquired by living with English-speaking

people, certainly not merely from school studies or books. It is probable, as before stated, that he had learned this language before going to Canada; but later, by his life in New England and in the service of Boston merchants during the years from 1661 to 1664, he had doubtless added greatly to his acquaintance with the vernacular.

The narratives of the four land expeditions, which are called by Radisson “voyages,” appear to have been written in 1665, with a slight addition three years later, their purpose being to promote the interests of the two adventurers when first seeking alliance with the English for establishing trade with Hudson bay. The writer took especial care to show the great prospective commercial advantages of opening the fur trade with new regions at the north, and of gaining possession by colonies in the vast fertile country of lake Michigan and the upper Mississippi region.

That the routes and localities of the farthest western explorations by Groseilliers and Radisson, and of their councils with the Indians to establish the fur trade in the area of Minnesota, have not been earlier fully studied out and ascertained, is doubtless attributable mainly to deficiencies of Radisson's narratives; but also must in part be ascribed to the limitation of their publication, in an edition of two hundred and fifty copies, of which only two are in Minnesota. Only three or four students of history 455 in this state have made careful examination of this book; and these studies, with those of other historians in Wisconsin and elsewhere, have gradually brought us to the results stated in the present paper. Very recently an essential clue for identification of the locality of greatest interest in the second of these expeditions to Minnesota has been supplied by Hon. J. V. Brower, who finds that Knife lake and river, in Kanabec county, were so named because there the Sioux of the Mille Lacs region first obtained iron and steel knives from white men, thence also receiving themselves the name of Isanti or Knife Sioux, by which they were known to Du Luth and Hennepin.

Agreements and Discrepancies with Other Records .

The two western expeditions are paralleled by the *Jesuit Relations* , which were yearly reports of the progress of missionary work, including also many incidental references to other Canadian history. Another contemporary record, the *Journal of the Jesuits* for the year 1660, contains a very interesting detailed statement of the return of these travelers and traders from their second trip west, accompanied by three hundred Indians, and bringing a rich freight of furs. The Relations for 1660 mention two Frenchmen returning at this time, with similar details of their expedition, as the return of two Frenchmen was also noted by the Relations for 1656; but in both instances they refrain from giving the names of these daring and successful explorers. In the Journal we are informed that Groseilliers was one of the two returning from the second of these expeditions.

Henry Colin Campbell, of Wisconsin, who has very carefully studied the chronology of this subject, writes: “Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it would not be easy to find three distinct accounts of one expedition into a strange country that tallied more closely than do the accounts of that voyage to lake Superior which we find in the *Jesuit Relations* , the *Journal of the Jesuits* , and Radisson's *Journal* . The return of Radisson and Groseilliers from their second trip, the one to lake Superior, in August, 1660, is thus fully proven.”

The duration of the first expedition west, in which Radisson claims to have traveled far southward, to a latitude where “it 456 never snows nor freezes, but is mighty hot,” he asserts to have been three years; but the Jesuit Relations state distinctly that the expedition which returned in 1656 had occupied only two years. In this discrepancy we must certainly rely on the Relations as truthful, for reasons to be presently more fully explained. When the fictitious year, as it may be called, is eliminated from this expedition, taking away the pretended journey to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, the remaining narration of Radisson for the two years actually spent in the region of lake Michigan and on Prairie island seems entirely trustworthy, bearing many and indubitable evidences of its truth.

Comparing this narration with the Jesuit Relations, Campbell well summarizes the general agreement as follows: “Our two Frenchmen, like the nameless Frenchmen of 1654–1656, visited the Pottawatamies and the Maskoutens, the latter in the interior of Wisconsin. Radisson and Groseilliers, like the two nameless Frenchmen, were delayed in returning the first spring by the Indians. Their return, likewise, caused great joy in the colony, and salvos of artillery were also fired in their honor from the battlements of Quebec. We have already observed that the whereabouts of Radisson and Groseilliers from 1654 to 1656 can be accounted for in no other way than by making them identical with the two nameless Frenchmen; and, moreover, Radisson and Groseilliers, if they were the two nameless Frenchmen, would have had a year in which to rest, after their return, as Radisson says that they did.”

Very instructive and satisfactory discussion of contemporaneous records and historical dates in their relationship to these narratives, and of the discrepancies in Radisson's account of the first western voyage, is given, with citation of the original sources of comparison and a good bibliography of the considerable literature concerning these explorers, by Campbell in his several papers published a few years ago.

Chronology of the Four Expeditions .

In writing of the western expeditions, which most interest us because they extended to the area of Minnesota, Radisson seldom exactly noted the date of any event by the month and never by the number of the year. Much confusion has arisen, therefore, 457 among historians in determining the years when these expeditions took place.

Some authors, as Scull, the editor of the Prince Society's volume, Dionne, the librarian of the Legislature of Quebec, Sulte, in his recent elaborate studies of this subject, Dr. Edward D. Neill, R. G. Thwaites, and Prof. George Bryce, have held that the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson terminated in 1660, being the second of the two

mentioned in the Jesuit Relations of 1656 and 1660. They consequently refer the second western trip narrated by Radisson to the years 1661–63, or to 1662–64.

Others, including Campbell, before quoted, the late Alfred J. Hill and Hon. J. V. Brower (in Volume VII of this Society's Historical Collections), and the late honored and beloved Captain Russell Blakeley, vice president of this Historical Society (in Volume VIII of the same series), with most ample reasons consider the two western voyages of these explorers to be identical with those reported in the Relations, terminating respectively in 1656 and 1660. This view is so clearly set forth by Campbell that it must be confidently accepted; indeed, the accurately known records in these narratives and other contemporaneous writings prove it conclusively.

Radisson's captivity with the Iroquois, called his first voyage, was, as we have seen, in 1652 and 1653, his first and second years after coming to Canada. Having escaped to France and thence come back to his home at Three Rivers early in 1654, he set out in the summer of that year with his brother-in-law on their first voyage to the far west, from which they returned in 1656.

During the interval following, before the second voyage west, Radisson went to the Onondaga settlement in the central part of the area of New York state; and this expedition, called by him “the Second Voyage made in the Upper Country of the Iroquoits,” occupied nearly a year, from July, 1657, to March or April, 1658. It is placed second by Radisson in his series of narrations; and he explicitly says that the earliest western expedition was undertaken afterward.

He may have considered the geographic relationship more important than that of time, therefore placing the two Iroquois trips together, and the two in the far west likewise together; but 458 he ought not to have said definitely, in so many words, that the first western trip followed the second among the Iroquois. By this arrangement of his writings, with the accompanying misstatement, Radisson misled Scull and others in respect to their

chronologic order. It is to be remembered, however, in palliation of the falsehood, that a high regard for continual veracity in historical authorship, especially among travelers and explorers in the New World, was less common then, and was more likely to pass undetected for a long period, than at the present time.

Narrative of the First Western Expedition .

The title or caption given by Radisson at the beginning of this narrative reads: “Now followeth the Auxoticiat Voyage into the Great and filthy Lake of the Hurrons, Upper Sea of the East, and Bay of the North.” It occupies pages 134 to 172 in the publication by the Prince Society. No title is given for the second voyage west, which ensues in pages 173 to 247; and we must extend the references to the Upper Sea (lake Superior) and the Bay of the North (Hudson bay) to apply to that later western expedition. The great importance of the discovery of the upper Mississippi river was neglected in the title, doubtless because the more northern region of Hudson bay, easy to be reached by English ships, promised larger and earlier pecuniary profits in commerce.

Groseilliers and Radisson, voyaging in birch canoes with a small company of Hurons and Ottawas, came to lake Huron by the usual route of the Ottawa river and lake Nipissing. Their Indian escort then divided, and a part went with the French travelers southward around Georgian bay and lake Huron to Bois Blanc island and the strait of Mackinac. The first autumn and winter were spent in visiting from tribe to tribe in the region of Mackinac and Green bay. “I liked noe country,” says Radisson, “as I have that wherein we wintered; ffor whatever a man could desire was to be had in great plenty; viz. staggs, fishes in abundance, & all sort of meat, corne enough.” He says of lake Huron:

The coast of this lake is most delightfull to the minde. The lands smooth, and woods of all sorts. In many places there are many large open fields where in, I believe, wildmen formerly lived before the destruction 459 of the many nations which did inhabit, and took more place then 600 leagues about.

Lake Michigan, with its surrounding forests and prairies and Indian tribes, appeared even more fascinating to Radisson's enraptured and prophetic vision. He wrote of it in an ecstasy:

We embarked ourselves on the delightfullest lake of the world. I took notice of their Cottages & of the journeys of our navigation, for because that the country was so pleasant, so beautifull & fruitfull that it grieved me to see that the world could not discover such inticing countrys to live in. This I say because that the Europeans fight for a rock in the sea against one another, or for a sterill land and horrid country, that the people sent heere or there by the changement of the aire ingenders sicknesse and dies thereof. Contrarywise those kingdoms are so delicious & under so temperat a climat, plentifull of all things, the earth bringing foorth its fruit twice a yeare, the people live long & lusty & wise in their way. What conquest would that bee att litle or no cost; what laborinth of pleasure should millions of people have, instead that millions complaine of misery & poverty!

So carried away was our author by his zeal to show to England the excellence of this fertile and vast interior of our continent that he yielded to the temptation to describe as actually seen by himself the far southward continuation of the same country, beyond the limits of his travels, but known to him by accounts of the roving Indians. To give time for this pretended southern exploration, Radisson here interpolated a fictitious year.

Attentively persuing the narrative, I am impressed with the lack of details of journeys and experiences during the time between the first and second winters of Radisson's three years. He seems to have fabricated the story of that year, drawing his general descriptions of the southern half of lake Michigan and the vast region beyond from what he could learn in conversation with the red men. He understood the Algonquian languages, and these people and their southern neighbors had occasional intercourse and travel from tribe to tribe, so that among the aboriginal ornaments and amulets in Minnesota and Manitoba

were sea shells from the Gulf of Mexico. The implied voyage of Groseilliers and Radisson far down the Mississippi may therefore be rejected.

It is known with certainty that Radisson returned from France, after his Iroquois captivity, in the spring of 1654; and it 460 seems also certain that he and Groseilliers returned to Quebec from their first western expedition in 1656. Therefore it appears clearly impossible that this expedition could have occupied a longer time than the two years which the Jesuit Relations accredit to it. The meagerness, vagueness, and misconceptions of the narration for the fictitious year will appear by the following quotations:

We meet with severall nations, all sedentary, amazed to see us, & weare very civil. The further we sejourned the delightfuller the land was to us. I can say that [in] my lifetime I never saw a more incomparable country, for all I have ben in Italy; yett Italy comes short of it, as I think, when it was inhabited, & now forsaken of the wildmen. Being about the great sea [lake Michigan or the Gulf of Mexico?], we conversed with people that dwelleth about the salt water, who tould us that they saw some great white thing sometimes uppon the water, & came towards the shore, & men in the top of it, and made a noise like a company of swans; which made me believe that they weare mistaken, for I could not imagine what it could be, except the Spaniard; and the reason is that we found a barill broken as they use in Spaine.

Evidently Radisson intended here, in saying that they found a Spanish barrel, to convey the impression that they came to the Gulf coast; as also he almost surely meant by “the great sea.” It is very significant, however, that he does not here allude to the great river Mississippi, on which route they would necessarily have come to that coast and returned from it by several weeks of laborious canoeing. His narration is thus like the playbill announcing “the tragedy of Hamlet, the character of the Prince of Denmark being left out.”

Radisson continues in the same paragraph to describe the people there, with similar erroneous comprehension, based on hearsay that he partly miscontrued, as follows:

Those people have their haires long. They reap twice a yeare; they are called Tatarga, that is to say, buff. They warre against Nadoneceronons [the Sioux], and warre also against the Christionos [the Crees]. These 2 doe no great harme to one another, because the lake is between both. They are generally stout men, that they are able to defend themselves. They come but once a year to fight. If the season of the yeare had permitted us to stay, for we intended to goe backe the yeare following, we had indeavoured to make peace betweene them. We had not as yett seene the nation Nadoneceronons. We had hurrons with us. Wee persuaded 461 them to come along to see their owne nation that fled there, but they would not by any means. We thought to gett some castors [beavers' skins] there to bring downe to the ffrench, seeing [it] att last impossible to us to make such a circuit in a twelve month's time. We weare every where much made of; neither wanted victualls, for all the different nations that we mett conducted us & furnished us with all necessaries. Tending to those people, went towards the South & came back by the north.

The Summer passed away with admiration by the diversity of the nations that we saw, as for the beauty of the shore of that sweet sea [i. e., great lake of fresh water]. Heere we saw fishes of divers, some like the sturgeons & have a kind of slice att the end of their nose some 3 fingers broad in the end and 2 onely neere the nose, and some 8 thumbs long, all marbled of a blakish collor [the shovel-nosed sturgeon]. There are birds whose bills are two and 20 thumbs long. That bird [the pelican] swallows a whole salmon, keeps it a long time in his bill. We saw also shee-goats very bigg. There is an animal somewhat lesse than a cow whose meat is exceeding good. There is no want of Staggs nor Buffes. There are so many Tourkeys that the boys throws stoanes att them for their recreation…Most of the shores of the lake is nothing but sand. There are mountains [sand dunes] to be seene farre in the land. There comes not so many rivers from [into] that lake as from others: these that flow from it are deeper and broader, the trees are very bigg, but not so thick. There is a great distance from one another, & a quantitie of all sorts of fruits, but small. The vines grows all by the river side; the lemons are not so bigg as ours, and sowrer. The grape is very bigg, greene, is seene there att all times. It never snows nor freezes

there, but mighty hot; yett for all that the country is not so unwholsom, ffor we seldom have seene infirmed people.

It seems probable that a part of Radisson's information of the fauna, notably his reference to “shee-goats very bigg,” belongs to the Rocky mountains, rather than the country of lake Michigan and the Mississippi, which he is endeavoring to describe. His idea that the tribes of the far south, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, habitually sent war parties each year into the country of the Sioux and the Crees, the latter living, then as now, north and northwest of lake Superior, presents most decisive internal evidence that the narration of this year was gathered only from hearsay, for which, as we shall see, Radisson had splendid opportunity in his very long hunting excursion with the savages during the summer of 1655, starting from and returning to Prairie island.

When we come to Radisson's account of that next year, following his apparent fiction so vaguely and blunderingly told, he 462 resumes his accustomed definiteness of details, telling us that in the early spring, before the snow and ice were gone, which forbade the use of canoes, these Frenchmen, with about a hundred and fifty men and women of the native tribes, traveled almost fifty leagues on snowshoes, coming to a riverside where they spent three weeks in making boats. This journey was, if I rightly identify it, from the vicinity of Green bay, in eastern Wisconsin, across that state to the Mississippi, reaching this river near the southeast corner of Minnesota or somewhat farther south, perhaps coming by a route not far from the canoe route of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Thence they voyaged eight days up the river on which their boats had been made, to villages of two tribes, probably in the vicinity of Winona, where they obtained meal and corn, which supplied this large company until they “came to the first landing isle.”

THE YEAR 1655–56 AT PRAIRIE ISLAND.

The description indicates that the voyageurs passed along lake Pepin and upward to the large Isle Pelée (or Bald island), now called Prairie island, on the Minnesota side of the

main river channel a few miles above Red Wing. On this island, which derived its names, both in French and English, from its being mostly a prairie, a large number of Hurons and Ottawas, fleeing from their enemies, the Iroquois, had recently taken refuge, and had begun the cultivation of corn. Their harvest the preceding year, on newly worked land, was small; but much corn would be needed for food during the long journey thence to Quebec with beaver skins, which canoe voyage, requiring a month or more, Groseilliers and Radisson wished to begin soon after their arrival at the island. They were obliged to remain till the next year, and Groseilliers spent the summer on Prairie island and in its vicinity, one of his chief objects being to provide a large supply of corn for the return journey. Meanwhile Radisson went with hunting parties, and traveled “four months… without doing anything but go from river to river.” He was enamored of the beauty and fertility of the country, and was astonished at its herds of buffaloes and antelopes, flocks of pelicans, and the shovel-nosed sturgeon, all of which he particularly 463 described. Such was the first year, 1655, of observations and exploration by white men in Minnesota, and their earliest navigation of the upper part of the Mississippi river. Accompanied by several hundred Hurons and other Algonquins, and carrying a most welcome freight of furs, Groseilliers and Radisson returned to Montreal and Quebec in August, 1656. Their stay at Prairie island covered the period from April or May, 1655, to June, 1656, about fourteen months.

My identification, as thus stated, of Radisson's “first landing isle,” according with a suggestion of Campbell, differs widely from the view taken by the late Captain Blakeley in his paper presented several years ago to this Society, published in Volume VIII of its Historical Collections. He thought that island to be probably in lake Saganaga, on the northern boundary of Minnesota. Therefore it becomes needful to give here quite explicitly the six chief reasons for my assertion in favor of Prairie island. These may be received as conclusive, while yet indulging much leniency toward other views, because even the Indian geographic names, and also the direction of journeys, as northward, or southward,

are generally wanting in the crude account of these earliest explorations in a previously unknown region.

First, the geographic features and distances of the route from Green bay or lake Winnebago to the Mississippi, and up this river to Prairie island, seem to me harmonious with Radisson's narration; but, on the contrary, the route by lake Superior and northward to Saganaga lake differs greatly from what is narrated of the snowshoe and canoe journeys.

Second, many of the Hurons and Ottawas, escaping from their foes, the fierce Iroquois, are known, by other and contemporaneous historical testimony, to have fled to the Mississippi and settled at Prairie island about this time; and the narration shows that the Indians who are said to have come newly there were Huron refugees. These Indians never penetrated to the far northern and cold country beyond lake Superior.

Third, the cool climate and predominantly rocky land of our northern boundary from lake Superior to the mouth of Rainy lake, with the altitude of Saganaga lake, 1, 434 feet above the sea, and the small size and very rocky surface of its many islands, make corn-raising there, on a large scale, quite impossible; whereas 464 as the extensive Prairie island, 670 to 735 feet above the sea, and situated three and a half degrees farther south, with an easily cultivated and very productive alluvial soil, is by nature most admirably adapted for the primitive agriculture of the aborigines and for their most valuable crop, Indian corn.

Fourth, Radisson distinctly says that in starting toward the great river and its “first landing isle,” they bade farewell to the Indians of the Sault Ste. Marie and of the North.

Fifth, he also states that in the region of that island beavers were not so plentiful as “in the north part,” showing clearly that they were then farther south than during the preceding winter, which they had spent about the northern end of lake Michigan.

Sixth, the journey of return from that island was first to the south and then to the north. This description applies to the canoe voyage from Prairie island southward down the

Mississippi, and then northward up the Wisconsin river and down the Fox river to Green bay. It could not describe any route of return from lake Saganaga.

No other locality on or near the northern border of Minnesota can satisfy the requirements of the narration; nor can any other island in the Mississippi, or in any river of this region, meet these requirements so satisfactorily as Prairie island, which is the largest in all the course of the Mississipi. The identification seems to me to stand in the clearest light, without a shadow of reason for distrust.

Many islands had been passed in the long canoe journey up the Mississippi, but the “first landing isle” was the first having sufficient height and extent to be adapted for permanent settlement by the Indians and later by white men. This name seems to imply a second isle farther up the river, rising likewise above its highest flood stage and therefore permanently habitable, which conditions mark Gray Cloud island, about four miles long and one to two miles wide, situated about ten miles above Prairie island and five miles above Hastings. Both these islands were inhabited long before the coming of white immigration, and even at the time of this first expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson they were probably already known by the Indians as the first and second “landing isles.” Each shows traces of very 465 ancient occupancy, made known by Hon. J. V. Brower's archæologic examination and mapping of their aboriginal mounds, village sites, and places of canoe landings.

Isle Pelée, as Prairie island was called by the French, is ten and a half miles long, and has an average width of about two miles, with a maximum of two and three-fourths miles. Its area is about twenty square miles, and its highest part is 40 to 65 feet above the low water stage of the inclosing rivers. This large island lies between the Mississippi and a western tributary, the Vermillion river, which flow respectively along its northeast and southwest sides, each measuring more than ten miles. At its northwest or upstream end, the island is bounded by Truedell slough, which supplies, even at the lowest stage of water, a connection between the Mississippi and the Vermillion, usually carrying a current from the former to the latter; but during floods in the smaller river, when it is the higher, the direction

of the current in the slough is reversed. In the highest floods from exceptional rains or from the snow-melting in spring, the Mississippi rises 16 to 18 feet above its lowest stage; and then it sends off a wide part of its waters along the course of the Vermillion, to reunite with the broader flood of the main river south of the island, which is reduced at such times to a length of about seven miles and a maximum width of only about one mile.

This island possesses several beautiful lakes, from a half mile to two miles long; and the largest, Sturgeon lake, has a width of a half mile. Timber grows along most parts of the shores of these lakes, and along the banks of both the Mississippi and Vermillion rivers, in some places reaching far from the shores; but about four-fifths of the island is prairie, as it was also indubitably when Groseilliers and Radisson came there. Excepting an extensive low and marshy tract on the northwestern part of the island, all its prairie is suitable for cultivation and is now occupied and used for farming, including not less than ten or twelve square miles, or about 7,000 acres.

As I traversed this historic island in early May of the year 1901, at nearly the exact season of the arrival of these Frenchmen almost two and a half centuries ago, my thoughts went back to that springtime, and I endeavored to picture their coming with 30 466 a hundred and fifty Indians to join those who a year or two before had come there, attracted by the fitness of the land for corn-raising. The island was then a great prairie as now, and its sedentary Indian population may have usually exceeded its present number of white inhabitants, perhaps a hundred and fifty, with their twenty-five or thirty farmhouses, two schoolhouses, and a church. Instead of the neighboring railways and villages of civilization, all the Mississippi basin from lake Itasca to the Gulf was uninhabited by white men. But it had many Indian villages, many cultivated fields yielding abundantly, and unlimited supplies of fish and game. The native tribes had not yet obtained the firearms before which the buffaloes, elk and deer, and most of the wild fowl, have fallen and vanished away. Their traffic with Europeans was begun by these two daring explorers and traders.

Groseilliers at this date was thirty-four years old, and was well experienced in the hazardous life of a pioneer Indian trader, prudent, persevering, and successful. His comrade was scarcely twenty years old, full of courage, resourceful, fond of wild adventure, and eager to see new regions. If we compare their enterprise to a boat or ship, Groseilliers was like the ballast to keep the craft right side up, while Radisson was like the sail to give speed and distance.

It will be profitable to us of this Historical Society, and to all Minnesota readers, that the part of Radisson's narration giving the journey to Prairie island and the events of their stay shall be here fully transcribed, as follows:

…Att last we declared our mind first to those of the Sault, encouraging those of the North that we are their brethren, & that we would come back and force their enemy to peace or that we would help against them. We made guifts one to another, and thwarted a land of allmost 50 leagues before the snow was melted. In the morning it was a pleasur to walke, for we could goe without racketts. The snow was hard enough, because it freezed every night. When the sun began to shine we payed for the time past. The snow sticks so to our racketts that I believe our shoes weighed 30 pounds, which was a paine, having a burden uppon our backs besides.

We arrived, some 150 of us, men & women, to a river side, where we stayed 3 weeks making boats. Here we wanted not fish. During that time we made feasts att a high rate. So we refreshed ourselves from our labours. In that time we tooke notice that the budds of trees began to 467 spring, which made us to make more hast & be gone. We went up the river 8 days till we came to a nation called Pontonatenick & Matonenock; that is, the scrattchers. There we got some Indian meale & corne from those 2 nations, which lasted us till we came to the first landing Isle. There we weare well received againe. We made guifts to the Elders to encourage the yong people to bring us downe to the ffrench. But mightily mistaken; ffor they would reply, “Should you bring us to be killed? The Iroquoits are every where about the river & undoubtedly will destroy us if we goe downe,

& afterwards our wives & those that stayed behinde. Be wise, brethren, & offer not to goe downe this yeare to the ffrench. Lett us keepe our lives." We made many private suits, but all in vaine. That vexed us most that we had given away most of our merhandises & swapped a great deale for Castors [beavers]. Moreover they made no great harvest, being but newly there. Beside, they weare no great huntsmen. Our journey was broaken till the next yeare, & must per force.

That summer I went a hunting, & my brother stayed where he was welcome & putt up a great deale of Indian corne that was given him. He intended to furnish the wildmen that weare to goe downe to the ffrench if they had not enough. The wildmen did not perceive this: ffor if they wanted any, we could hardly kept it for our use. The winter passes away in good correspondence one with another, & sent ambassadors to the nations that uses to goe downe to the ffrench, which rejoiced them the more & made us passe that yeare with a greater pleasur, saving that my brother fell into the falling sicknesse, & many weare sorry for it. That proceeded onely of a long stay in a newly discovered country, & the idlenesse contributs much to it. There is nothing comparable to exercise. It is the onely remedy of such diseases. After he languished awhile God gave him his health againe.

AGRICULTURE OF THE INDIANS.

Here let us pause briefly to consider the attainments of the aborigines of America in agriculture, the oldest of the industrial arts that lead from savagery toward civilization. Among the several notable additions to the world's important food resources which were received by the discovery of this western continent, including potatoes, tomatoes, the most common species and varieties of beans, the pumpkin, the pine-apple, and the domesticated turkey, no other ranks so high in value as maize on Indian corn, which was cultivated in abundance by all the tribes of the eastern and southern United States, from the Atlantic to the upper Mississippi and quite across the continent to California, as also farther south in Mexico and Central America, and onward to Peru, Chile, and the River La Plata.

Schoolcraft wrote of this grain: “The Zea, maize, originally furnished the principal article of subsistance among all the tribes of this race, north and south. It lay at the foundation of the Mexican and Peruvian types of civilization, as well as the incipient gleamings of it among the more warlike tribes of the Iroquois, Natchez, lenapees, and others, of northern latitudes. They esteem it so important and divine a grain, that their storytellers invented various tales, in which this idea is symbolized under the form of a special gift from the Great Spirit. The Odjibwa-Algonquins, who call it Mon-dá-min, that is, the Spirit's grain or berry, have a pretty story of this kind, in which the stalk in full tassel is represented as descending from the sky, under the guise of a handsome youth, in answer to the prayers of a young man at his fast of virility, or coming to manhood.”*

* Oneota, 1845, p. 82.

John Fiske wrote: “The ancient Americans had a cereal plant peculiar to the New World, which made comparatively small demands upon the intelligence and industry of the cultivator. Maize or ‘Indian corn’ has played a most important part in the history of the New World, as regards both the red men and the white men. It could be planted without clearing or ploughing the soil. It was only necessary to girdle the trees with a stone hatchet, so as to destroy their leaves and let in the sunshine. A few scratches and digs were made in the ground with a stone digger, and the seed once dropped in took care of itself. The ears could hang for weeks after ripening, and could be picked off without meddling with the stalk; there was no need of threshing and winnowing. None of the Old World cereals can be cultivated without much more industry and intelligence. At the same time when Indian corn is sown in tilled land, it yields with little labour more than twice as much food per acre as any other kind of grain. This was of incalculable advantage to the English settlers of New England, who would have found it much harder to gain a secure foothold upon the soil if they had had to begin by preparing it for wheat and rye without the aid of the beautiful and beneficent American plant.”†

† The Discovery of America. 1892 vol. i., pp. 27, 28.

Repeatedly the first white inhabitants of Massachusetts and Virginia were saved from hunger, and probably even from starvation, 469 by the corn which they obtained by gift or purchase or stealing from the Indians. Vast fields of maize, in tens and sometimes hundreds of acres, were cultivated close to the larger villages of all the Indian tribes, as is well attested by the earliest chroniclers of our colonial history, and by the observations of the first travelers throughout all the eastern half of our country. In the accounts of the terrible Indian wars of tribal extermination, like those waged by the Iroquois against the Hurons and the Illinois, and in the campaigns of the French and later of the English against the Iroquois themselves, the wanton destruction of their great cornfields and stores of corn saved for winter, or often for two or more years to guard against any failure of crops, excites our astonishment, and shows how large a share agriculture contributed to their subsistence.

The Hurons, especially, were a people whose large dependence on agriculture, with proportional deficiency as wandering hunters or marauding warriors, had made them an easy prey of the ferocious and pitiless Iroquois. One branch of this people was called the Tobacco tribe or nation, because they were remarkably addicted to the cultivation and use of tobacco, which also indeed was cultivated, though in less degree, by all the tribes, and was another gift from America to the world. Groseilliers and Radisson had noted the extensive deserted fields of the Hurons, depopulated by raids of their Iroquois enemies, about the south part of Georgian bay, the great eastern arm of the lake which bears their name. Wherever their straggling remnants migrated, to the Illinois Indians on the Illinois river, to the Upper Iowa river, to Prairie island, and soon afterward to the interior of northern Wisconsin and to Chequamegon bay, they carried superior knowledge and practice of agriculture, for which reason they occupied this beautiful island of the Mississippi a few years, until compelled to abandon it by the frequent attacks of the neighboring Sioux.

All the chief varieties of maize, as that with small and hard yellow kernels, cultivated farthest north, the more rank plant with large indented kernels, whether yellow or white, cultivated through the southern part of this country, the white sweet corn, and pop corn, had originated in cultivation by the American race before the Columbian discovery. But the ancient native habitat 470 of this species, the only one of its genus, has not been surely ascertained. As a wild plant, it may have become extinct. How long it had been cultivated, we cannot closely estimate; but its very diverse varieties, like those of many cultivated plants, point to a great antiquity. I cannot doubt that men inhabited America long before the end of the Ice age, having come hither from northeastern Asia, perhaps also from northwestern Europe, across land areas which are now submerged by the sea, but which before the Ice age, and during its greater part, were uplifted much higher than now. Easy access was then afforded for primitive men to come to this continent, and to spread throughout its entire length to Patagonia. Even during the early and middle part of the long Glacial period this migration might take place, for the high elevation of the northern portion of North America doubtless gave to it a resemblance to Greenland at the present day, in that the continental ice-sheet, though extending beyond the present coast lines, terminated inside the general coast of that time, leaving a narrow land border where men could journey, obtaining as food the mollusks, fish, and game of this coastal belt.

Speedily after Columbus and his successors established commerce between the New and Old Worlds, maize was carried into Europe and Asia, and became a staple crop in many countries, from the Mediterranean region to China. Today it feeds more people than any other article of food, excepting perhaps rice.

PUBLIC COUNCIL IN THE SPRING OF 1656.

Coming back from this digression, we see Groseilliers and Radisson making all preparations for the long journey of their return to lower Canada. Many of the Indians must necessarily accompany them, and their canoes will be well laden with valuable furs, mostly of the beaver or castor. But the Hurons and other Indians who must be the Frenchmen's

escort and retinue are still faint-hearted, dreading ambuscade and attack on their way by the fierce Iroquois who had so recently devastated all the Huron country. The earnest arguments of Groseilliers seem insufficient, until Radisson by a bold assertion that he will start alone, at the same time suiting the action to the word, turns the tide of the council to approve and authorize the dangerous journey. 471 Radisson narrates this in picturesquely graphic and dramatic style, bringing this great council very clearly before us, as follows:

The desire that every one had to goe downe to the ffrench made them earnestly looke out for castors. They have not so many there as in the north part, so in the beginning of spring many came to our Isle. There weare no lesse, I believe, then 500 men that weare willing to venter themselves. The corne that my brother kept did us a world of service. The wildmen brought a quantity of flesh salted in a vesell. When we weare ready to depart, heere comes strang news of the defeat of the hurrons, which news, I thought, would putt off the voyage. There was a councell held, & most of them weare against the goeing downe to the ffrench, saying that the Iroquoits weare to barre this yeare, & the best way was to stay till the following yeare. And now the ennemy, seeing himselfe frustrated of his expectation, would not stay longer, thinking thereby that we weare resolved nevermore to go downe, and that next yeare there should be a bigger company, & better able to oppose an ennemy. My brother and I, seeing ourselves all out of hopes of our voyage, without our corne, which was allready bestowed, & without any merchandise, or scarce having one knife betwixt us both, so we weare in a great apprehension least that the hurrons should, as they have done often, when the ffathers weare in their country, kill a frenchman.

Seeing the equipage ready & many more that thought long to depart thence for marchandise, we uppon this resolved to call a publique councell in the place; which the Elders hearing, came and advised us not to undertake it, giving many faire words, saying, “Brethren, why are you such ennemys to yourselves to putt yourselves in the hands of those that wait for you? They will destroy you and carry you away captives. Will you have your brethren destroyed that loves you, being slained? Who then will come up and baptize our children? Stay till the next yeare, & then you are like to have the number of 600 men

in company with you. Then you may freely goe without intermission. Yee shall take the church along with you, & the ffathers & mothers will send their children to be taught in the way of truth of the lord." Our answer was that we would speake in publique, which granted, the day appointed is come. There gathered above 800 men to see who should have the glorie in a round. They satt downe on the ground. We desired silence. The elders being in the midle & we in their midle, my brother began to speake. "Who am I? am I a foe or a friend? If I am a foe, why did you suffer me to live so long among you? If I am a friend, & if you take so to be, hearken to what I shall say. You know, my uncles & Brethren, that I hazarded my life goeing up with you; if I have no courage, why did you not tell me att my first coming here? & if you have more witt then we, why did not you use it by preserving your knives, your hattchetts, & your gunns, that you had from the ffrench? You will see if the ennemy will sett upon you that you will be attraped like castors in a trape; how will you defend yourselves like men that is 472 not courageous to lett your selves be catched like beasts? How will you defend villages? with castors' skins? how will you defend your wives & children from the ennemy's hands?"

Then my brother made me stand up, saying, "Shew them the way to make warrs if they are able to uphold it." I tooke a gowne of castors' skins that one of them had uppon his shoulder & did beat him with it. I asked the others if I was a souldier. "Those are the armes that kill, & not your robes. What will your ennemy say when you perish without defending yourselves? Doe not you know the ffrench way? We are used to fight with armes & not with robes. You say that the Iroquoits waits for you because some of your men weare killed. It is onely to make you stay untill you are quite out of stocke, that they dispatch you with ease. Doe you think that the ffrench will come up here when the greatest part of you is slained by your owne fault? You know that they cannot come up without you. Shall they come to baptize your dead? Shall your children learne to be slaves among the Iroquoits for their ffathers' cowardnesse? You call me Iroquoit. Have not you seene me disposing my life with you? Who has given you your life if not the ffrench? Now you will not venter because many of your confederates are come to visit you & venter their lives with

you. If you will deceave them you must not think that they will come an other time for shy words nor desire. You have spoaken of it first, doe what you will. For myne owne part, I will venter choosing to die like a man then live like a beggar. Having not wherewithall to defend myselfe, farewell; I have my sack of corne ready. Take all my castors. I shall live without you." & then departed that company.

They weare amazed of our proceeding; they stayed long before they spoake one to another. Att last sent us some considerable persons who bid us cheare up. "We see that you are in the right; the voyage is not broaken. The yong people tooke very ill that you have beaten them with the skin. All avowed to die like men & undertake the journey. You shall heare what the councell will ordaine the morrow. They are to meet privatly & you shall be called to it. Cheare up & speake as you have done; that is my councell to you. For this you will remember me when you will see me in your country; ffor I will venter myselfe with you." Now we are more satisfied then the day before. We weare to use all rhetorique to persuade them to goe downe, ffor we saw the country languish very much, ffor they could not subsist, & moreover they weare afraid of us. The councell is called, but we had no need to make a speech, finding them disposed to make the voyage & to submitt. "Yee women gett your husbands' bundles ready. They goe to gett wherwithall to defend themselves & you alive."

What a scene was that great public council for a poet or painter, to depict Groseilliers and Radisson pleading before eight hundred Indians! It is a day in the middle or later part of June. On each side, some two miles away, rise the wooded bluffs that 473 inclose the valley and its islands. In a beautiful prairie area the motley crowd of savages are sitting or lying on the ground. At the center of the assemblage these two courageous Frenchmen are striving to persuade their dusky auditors to set out on the first commercial venture connecting this region with civilization.

THE RETURN TO QUEBEC.

As Groseilliers and Radisson now leave the area of Minnesota, we will give only a short acount of their further fortunes until they again arrive in our northwestern country. The following narrative of Radisson is very brief for the first two-thirds of the journey, until they have passed beyond lake Nipissing.

Our equipage was ready in 6 dayes. We embarked ourselves. We weare in number about 500, all stout men. We had with us a great store of castors' skins. We came to the South. We now goe back to the north, because to overtake a band of men that went before to give notice to others. We passed the lake without dangers. We wanted nothing, having good store of corne & netts to catch fish, which is plentyfull in the rivers. We came to a place where 8 Iroquoits wintered. That was the company that made a slaughter before our departure from home. Our men repented now they did not goe sooner, ffor it might be they should have surprised them. Att last we are out of those lakes.

On the lower Ottawa river, after passing the Calumet rapids, the voyageurs were harassed by small parties of the Iroquois, who endeavored to bar their advance but were defeated. In speaking of one of their encounters, against “16 boats of our ennemy,” Radisson enumerates the Indian tribes represented in his company, as follows:

…We begin to make outcryes & sing. The hurrons in one side, the Algonquins att the other side, the Ottanak [Ottawas], the panoestigons [Saulters, Ojibways], the Amickkoick [Beaver Indians], the Nadonicenago [Sinagoes, an Ottawa band], the ticacon [probably Tatarga, the Prairie Sioux], and we both encouraged them all, crying out with a loud noise.

After the latest encounter with the Iroquois, in running rapids of “that swift streame…the bad lacke was,” says Radisson, “that where my brother was the boat [over] turned in the torrent, being seaven of them together, weare in great danger, 474 ffor God was mercifull to give them strength to save themselves…My brother lost his booke of annotations of the last yeare of our being in these foraigne nations. We lost never a castor, but may be some better thing. It's better [that one] loose all then lose his life.” The place of this misfortune,

as we learn in the description of the return from the second western expedition, was the long Sault of the Ottawa, a series of rapids extending nearly six miles next below Grenville, about halfway between Ottawa and Montreal. Many times will Minnesota historians regret that the diary of Groseilliers at Prairie island was thus lost! Instead, we have only what Radisson remembered and wrote for his English patrons about ten years afterward.

The arrival of this company, with their large stock of furs, brought great rejoicing to the French settlements, which had languished, on account of the failure of the fur trade, since 1649–50, when the Hurons, with whom principally this trade existed, were mostly killed, and the others driven from their country, by the Iroquois and by famine following their cruel warfare. Radisson wrote:

…I give you leave if those of mont Royall weare not overjoyed to see us arrived where they affirme us the pitifull conditions that the country was by the cruelty of these cruell barbars, that perpetually killed & slaughtered to the very gate of the ffrench fort…We came to Quebecq, where we are saluted with the thundring of the guns & batteryes of the fort, and of the 3 shipps that weare then at anchor, which had gon back to france without castors if we had not come. We weare well traited for 5 days. The Governor made guifts & sent 2 Brigantins to bring us to the 3 rivers…

ACCOUNT IN THE JESUIT REIATION OF 1655–56.

The parallel narration of this expedition in the Jesuit Relation of 1655–56 supplies some very interesting and important additional details:

On the sixth day of August, 1654, two young Frenchmen, full of courage, having received permission from Monsieur the Governor of the Country to embark with some of the Peoples who had come down to our French settlements, began a journey of more than five hundred leagues under the guidance of these Argonauts,—conveyed, not in great Galleons 475 or large oared Barges, but in little Gondolas of bark. The two Pilgrims fully expected to return in the Spring of 1655, but those Peoples did not conduct them

home until toward the end of August of this year, 1656. Their arrival caused the Country universal joy, for they were accompanied by fifty canoes, laden with goods which the French come to this end of the world to procure. The fleet rode in state and in fine order along your mighty river, propelled by five hundred arms, and guided by as many eyes, most of which had never seen the great wooden canoes of the French,—that is to say, their Ships.

Having landed, amid the stunning noise of Cannon, and having quickly built their temporary dwellings, the Captains ascended to Fort saint louys to salute Monsieur our Governor, bearing their speeches in their hands. These were two presents, which represent words among these Peoples. One of the two gifts asked for some Frenchmen, to go and pass the Winter in their Country; while the other made request for some Fathers of our Society, to teach all the Nations of those vast Regions the way to Heaven. They were answered, in their own way, by presents, and were very willingly granted all that they asked. But, while those assigned to this great undertaking are making their preparations, let us learn some news from the two French Pilgrims and from their hosts.

…we were told of many Nations surrounding the Nation of the Sea [the Winnebagoes] which some have called “the Stinkards.” because its people formerly lived on the shores of the Sea, which they call *Ouinipeg* , that is, “stinking water.” The *liniouck* [Illinois], their neighbors, comprise about sixty Villages; the *Nadouesiouek* [Sioux] have fully forty; the *Pouarak* [Assiniboines], at least thirty; and the *Kiristinons* [Crees] surpass all the above in extent, reaching as far as the North Sea. The Country of the Hurons, which had only seventeen Villages, extending over about as many leagues, maintained fully thirty thousand people.

…these two young men have not undergone hardships for naught in their long journey. Not only have they enriched some Frenchmen upon their return, but they also caused great joy in all Paradise, during their travels, by Baptizing and sending to Heaven about three hundred little children, who began to know, love, and possess God, as soon as they

were washed in his blood through the waters of Baptism. They awakened in the minds of those Peoples the remembrance of the beauties of our Faith, whereof they had acquired the first tincture in the Country of the Hurons, when they visited our Fathers living there, or when some of us approached the Regions bordering on their Country.*

* The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; edited by R. G. Thwaites. Vol. xlii., 1899, pp. 219–223.

The Indians in the council at Prairie island, and also Radisson in his speech there, mentioned the baptism of children; and we may readily believe that it was done by Groseilliers, who during the years 1641–46 had been a lay helper of the Jesuits in 476 their very successful Huron missions. If the “booke of annotations” by Groseilliers had not been lost, as before related, we should doubtless have therein many further details of the year spent on Prairie island.

In comparing the tribal names given by Radisson with those in the Jesuit Relation, it is noticeable that the latter is more explicit, containing definite information of the Illinois, Sioux, Assiniboines, and Crees, who were either unknown or less fully known to Radisson, so far as appears in his narration. For these tribes the Jesuit writer probably obtained information, as the Relation itself indicates, from some of the Indians in the company that came with Groseilliers and Radisson, learning more perhaps than these French traders knew. Their retinue doubtless included Indians who had traveled far beyond their own tribal areas, and who might inform the Jesuits concerning the distant southern and northern Indians.

The tribes and bands enumerated by Radisson, excepting probably “the ticacon,” had been driven from their former homes around lake Huron and at the Sault Ste. Marie, and were doubtless each represented in the large company of refugees, called by Perrot the Hurons and Ottawas, who, as he related, fled to the Mississippi river and settled temporarily on Prairie island and in its vicinity.* Before their coming to this upper part of

the Mississippi, they had visited “the great Nation of the Alimiwec” [liniouek, Illinois], the populous Algonquian tribe of sixty villages on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.†

* Memoire, by Nicolas Perrot, published by Tailhan in 1864, pp. 83–88.

† Jesuit Relations, vol. xlv., p. 235 (Relation of 1659–60).

When is is remembered that our Frenchmen spent more than a year at Prairie island, and that they had “good correspondence” and “sent ambassadors to the nations that use to go down to the French,” it appears possible that there were also some who then went for the first time, representatives of the Illinois, and of the Sioux, Assiniboines, and Crees, coming long distances, respectively, from the south, west, and north, bringing their furs, and joining the retinue of these traders, escorted by the Hurons and Ottawas, in the long trip east of about two thousand miles.

It required probably about seven weeks to go from Prairie island to lower Canada; and a longer time was used in going back, propelling the canoes against the current of the Ottawa 477 and Mattawa rivers, along the shores of Georgian bay, lakes Huron and Michigan, and Green bay, and through the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, to the Mississippi and the vast western prairies.

Why were not the names of Groseilliers and Radisson given in the Jesuit Relations? Much is told of their expeditions by these missionary reports for 1656 and 1660; but their names, though surely well known to the Jesuit writer, are not stated. We may conjecture that the writer had some distrust of their continuing in loyalty to the church or to the government. On their part, the brothers-in-law concealed, as much as they could, the discoveries that they had made, because, as Radisson says, their chief purpose, to reach “the bay of the north,” had not been attained. They eagerly looked forward to another expedition.

RADISSON'S EXCURSIONS IN THE SUMMER OF 1655.

Here we may conveniently ask, Among what tribes, and how far from Prairie island, did Radisson go in his hunting excursions with the savages in the summer while Groseilliers was raising corn? The account of his wanderings that summer is given after the main narration of the expedition and its return, and is as follows:

We weare 4 moneths in our voyage without doeing anything but goe from river to river. We mett severall sorts of people. We conversed with them, being long time in alliance with them. By the persuasion of som of them we went into the great river that divides itselfe in 2, where the hurrons with some Ottanake & the wildmen that had warrs with them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we weare told. This nation have warrs against those of [the] forked river. It is so called because it has 2 branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the South, which we believe runns towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tells them that they have warrs against a nation, against men that build great cabbans & have great beards & had such knives as we had. Moreover they shewed a Decad of beads & guilded pearls that they have had from that people, which made us believe they weare Europeans. They shewed one of that nation that was taken the yeare before. We understood him not; he was much more tawny than they with whome we weare. His armes & leggs weare turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted uppon him. So they doe with them that they take, & kill them with clubbs & doe often eat them. They doe not burne their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

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We weare informed of that nation that live in the other river. These weare men of extraordinary height & biggnesse, that made us believe they had no communication with them. They live onely uppon Corne & Citrulles [pumpkins], which are mighty bigg. They have fish in plenty throughout the yeare. They have fruit as big as the heart of an Oriniak, which grows on vast trees which in compasse are three armefull in compasse. When they see litle men they are afraid & cry out, which makes many come help them. Their arrows

are not of stones as ours are, but of fish boans & other boans that they worke greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I having seene them, could not but admire the curiosity of their worke. They have great calumetts of great stones, red and greene. They make a store of tobacco. They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day. This I have not seene, therefore you may believe as you please.

When I came backe I found my brother sick, as I said before. God gave him his health, more by his courage then by any good medicine, ffor our bodyes are not like those of the wildmen…

It is evident, from this account, that Radisson and his companions went southeastward and hunted on the east side of the Mississippi, going by portages from one river to another until they reached the Illinois, “the great river that divides itself in two,” so called apparently because it is formed by the junction of the Des Plaines and the Kankakee, each an important canoe route. The Jesuit Relation of 1659–60, before cited, informs us that the Hurons and Ottawas retreated thither and were kindly received by the Illinois tribe, from whom then, and during Radisson's hunting trip, might be learned all that he narrates of the “forked river” and the people there and beyond. We should accordingly identify the “forked river” as the Mississippi, running on “towards Mexico” after receiving the great Missouri, the route of many aboriginal canoe expeditions “towards the west.” But Groseilliers and Radisson were quite unaware that their own river at Prairie island is the main eastern stream of their “forked river,” being, in its farther course and as to the area of its basin, the largest of North America.

Radisson recorded what he gathered from the Indians of the Illinois river concerning those on the Missouri and farther south and southwest. Indeed, acording to his own narrative of his captivity among the Iroquois, he had there heard several years previously (from an Iroquois who had ranged far and wide in the west, to the same “river that divides itself in two”) a part of 479 the information that he gives as learned in this expedition, of gigantic men, and of trees that bear fruit as big as the heart of an elk, thought by Captain

Blakeley to refer to pine cones with edible nutlike seeds, which are used as food in Mexico and California. For a full consideration of what Radisson thus learned and wrote of the Missouri and the far southwest, see the paper by Captain Blakeley in the Collections of this Society.*

* Vol. viii., pp. 315–330.

It need not cause surprise that Radisson learned much concerning regions far beyond the limits of his own travels, and that he was thereby tempted to add a false year in each of the expeditions to the west, telling what he heard from the Indians as if it was actually seen by himself. He first learned of the Illinois river and of the country beyond while he was a captive in the region of central New York. Later he claimed to have gone to the Gulf of Mexico, though probably never nearer to it than central Illinois; and, last of all, he claimed to have traveled from the west part of lake Superior to Hudson bay, though probably not advancing so far north as to the northern boundary of Minnesota.

Narrative of the Second Western Expedition .

After returning from the west in August, 1656, Groseilliers and Radisson took a period of rest. This was succeeded by Radisson's expedition with others, Indians and French, to the Onondaga country, which he places as his “second voyage.” From this absence he returned about the end of March, 1658. Afterward, in the latter part of the summer of this year or of the next year, 1659, the two brothers-in-law, and a party of returning Indians, again started for the farthest west, with a stock of merchandise suited for barter in their fur trading.

The narrative by Radisson very explicitly relates their travels and experiences for two years, which would require their departure to have been in 1658; for the date of their return, known with certainty from several concurring records, was in August, 1660. But the Relation and Journal of the Jesuits both indicate that this expedition occupied only one year. Scrutinizing the narrative, with this discrepancy in mind, I am fully, 480

though reluctantly, persuaded that here again Radisson was guilty in his writing, as for the preceding western expedition, of fictitiously adding a year, this being from the first spring to the second in his narration, comprising the visit to Hudson bay. The numerous reasons for this conclusion will appear as we proceed. It is therefore to be understood that the beginning of this expedition was in August, 1659, soon after a “company of the Sault” (Ojibways) arrived at Three Rivers.

Aillebout, the governor of Quebec, who in 1656 welcomed and honored these traders because their enterprise had given new courage to the colony, was succeeded in the summer of 1658 by Argenson, who held the office three years. He treated Groseilliers and Radisson with injustice as to the terms for granting to them the requisite official permission or license for this expedition. Not daunted, however, they departed at night, disregarding the governor's special prohibition, but bearing the good wishes of the people and garrison of Three Rivers, voiced by the sentry, “God give you a good voyage.”

The journey up the Ottawa river was enlivened by skirmishes with Iroquois rangers, some being killed on each side, which Radisson relates in his fervid style, with many details of the wary Indian warfare. After twenty-two days of frequent danger, hardship and hunger, the canoe flotilla entered Georgian bay of Lake Huron. Radisson says: “Our equipage and we weare ready to wander uppon that sweet sea; but most of that coast is void of wild beasts, so there was great famine amongst us for want. Yett the coast afforded us some small fruits. There I found the kindnesse & charity of the wildmen, ffor when they found any place of any quantity of it [blueberries] they called me and my brother to eat & replenish our bellys, shewing themselves far gratfuller then many Christians even to their owne relations.”

Coasting northwestward, they soon came to St. Mary's river and falls, still commonly known by the ancient French name, Sault Ste. Marie, outflowing from Lake Superior. It appears, in Radisson's speaking of the whitefish, that Groseilliers and himself had never come there previously; but in the first winter of the first western expedition they had

probably visited the Saulteurs (Ojibways) on the south side of lake Superior in the vicinity of Au Train river and bay, due north of Green bay and 481 a hundred and twenty-five miles west of the Sault. Exactly twenty-five years had passed since Jean Nicolet, with his seven Huron canoemen, came to the Sault; in the autumn of 1634, being the first of Europeans to look on the greatest of our inland freshwater seas. Groseilliers and Radisson were now the first white men to navigate its length and to travel beyond among the tribes of northern Wisconsin and northern Minnesota.

Ojibways were the escort of the French traders and of the Indians from other tribes in this expedition. They had formerly lived at the Sault, and hence were called by the French the Saulteurs; but they had been driven away westward by the raids of the Iroquois, so that at this time the region was desolate without inhabitants. The narrative of the arrival and short stay at St. Mary's falls is as follows:

Afterwardes we entered into a straight which had 10 leagues in length, full of islands, where we wanted not fish. We came after to a rapid that makes the separation of the lake of the hurrons, that we calle Superior, or upper, for that the wildmen hold it to be longer & broader, besids a great many islands, which makes appeare in a bigger extent. This rapid was formerly the dwelling of those with whome wee weare, and consequently we must not aske them if they knew where they have layed. Wee made cottages att our advantages, and found the truth of what those men had often [said], that if once we could come to that place we should make good cheare of a fish that they call *Assickmack* , which signifieth a whitefish. The beare, the castors, and the Oriniack shewed themselves often, but to their cost; indeed it was to us like a terrestriall paradise. After so long fastning, after so great paines that we had taken, finde ourselves so well by choosing our dyet, and resting when we had a minde to it, 't is here that we must tast with pleasur a sweet bitt. We doe not aske for a good sauce; it's better to have it naturally; it is the way to distinguish the sweet from the bitter.

But the season was far spent, and use diligence and leave that place so wished, which wee shall bewaile, to the coursed Iroquoits. …We left that inn without reckoning with our host. It is cheape when wee are not to put the hand to the purse; neverthelesse we must pay out of civility: the one gives thanks to the woods, the other to the river, the third to the earth, the other to the rocks that stayes the ffish…

As the voyageurs advanced along the south shore of lake Superior, Radisson saw and well remembered all the chief geographic features. Of the high sand dunes in the vicinity of the Point Au Sable, nearly a hundred miles from the Sault, he says: 31

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…we saw banckes of sand so high that one of our wildmen went upp for curiositie; being there, did shew no more than a crow. That place is most dangerous when that there is any storme, being no landing place so long as the sandy bancks are under water; and when the wind blowes, that sand doth rise by a strang kind of whirling that are able to choake the passengers. One day you will see 50 small mountaines att one side, and the next day, if the wind changes, on the other side.…

About fifteen miles farther on, southwestward from the Point Au Sable, are the Grand Portal, or Arched Rock, and other waterworn cliffs, well described in the narrative.

After this we came to a remarquable place. It's a banke of Rocks that the wildmen made a sacrifice to; they calls it *Nanitoucksinagoit* , which signifies the likenesse of the devill. They fling much tobacco and other things in its veneration. It is a thing most incredible that that lake should be so boisterous, that the waves of it should have the strength to doe what I have to say by this my discours: first, that it's so high and soe deepe that it's impossible to claime up to the point. There comes many sorte of birds that makes there nest here, the goilants, which is a white sea-bird of the bignesse of pigeon, which makes me believe what the wildmen told me concerning the sea to be neare directly to the point. It's like a great Portall, by reason of the beating of the waves. The lower part of that oppening is

as bigg as a tower, and grows bigger in the going up. There is, I believe, 6 acres of land above it. A shipp of 500 tuns could passe by, soe bigg is the arch. I gave it the name of the portall of St. Peter, because my name is so called, and that I was the first Christian that ever saw it. There is in that place caves very deepe, caused by the same violence. We must looke to ourselves, and take time with our small boats. The coast of rocks is 5 or 6 leagues, and there scarce a place to putt a boat in assurance from the waves. When the lake is agitated the waves goeth in these concavities with force and make a most horrible noise, most like the shooting of great guns.

Radisson continues with description of the passage across the base of the Keweenaw peninsula, which projects fifty miles northeasterly into the lake.

Some dayes afterwards we arrived to a very beautifull point of sand where there are 3 beautifull islands, that we called of the Trinity [now called Huron islands]; there be 3 in triangle. From this place we discovered a bay very deepe [Keweenaw bay], where a river empties it selfe with a noise for the quantitie & dept of the water. We must stay there 3 dayes to wait for faire weather to make the Trainage, which was about 6 leagues wide. Soe done, we came to the mouth of a small river, where we killed some Oriniacks. We found meddows that weare squared, and 10 leagues as smooth as a board. We went up some 5 leagues further, where we found some pools made by the castors. We must breake them that we 483 might passe. The sluce being broaken, what a wounderfull thing to see the industrie of that animal, which had drowned more then 20 leagues in the grounds, and cutt all the trees, having left non to make a fire if the countrey should be dried up. Being come to the height, we must drague our boats over a trembling ground for the space of an houre.…

Having passed that place, we made a carriage through the land for 2 leagues. The way was well beaten because of the commers and goers, who by making that passage shortens their passage by 8 dayes by tourning about the point that goes very farr in that great lake, that is to say, 5 to come to the point, and 3 for to come to the landing of that

place of carriage. In the end of that point, that goeth very farre, there is an isle, as I was told, all of copper. This I have not seene. They say that from the isle of copper, which is a league in the lake,when they are minded to thwart it in a faire and calme wether, beginning from sun rising to sun sett, they come to a great island [Isle Royale], from whence they come the next morning to firme lande att the other side; so by reason of 20 leagues a day that lake should be broad of 6 score and 10 leagues. The wildmen doe not much lesse when the weather is faire.

Isle Royale is plainly visible from the high Keweenaw peninsula; and it soon came into full view to the toiling Indians in their canoes. The distance is only forty-five or fifty miles, and was passed over without difficulty in the fifteen hours, more or less, of a long summer day. What Radisson meant in computing the distance of 130 leagues is not evident. Twenty leagues, which he estimates for one day's canoeing, from Keweenaw point to Isle Royale, are fifty-five miles, the common league of France being 2.76 English miles. Parties of Ojibways were accustomed, as he says, to make this passage across the lake, but only in favorable weather and to accomplish it in a single day, lest in a cloudy day or by night they should miss the right course, or lest in storms their light birch bark canoes should be swamped by high waves. Nor need we doubt even that the Crees, in their smaller canoes, could do the same, for they crossed from the Bayfield peninsula to the north shore near the present town of Two Harbors, as narrated later, which is half as far.

After five days of canoeing beyond the Keweenaw portage, Groseilliers and Radisson, with their company of Ojibways, Hurons and Ottawas, came to a camp of Crees on the lake shore, who gladly welcomed them on account of their French merchandise. Somewhat farther on, at the Montreal river, many of the company, apparently Ojibways, turned their canoes up that river, leaving, however, a large flotilla to continue westward along the 484 lake coast. Half a day's journey then brought the French traders, with their Indian escort and retinue of the various tribes, to Chequamegon bay, which became their base for departure inland and for return after their winter travels and trade.

FORT AT CHEQUAMEGON BAY.

Resuming the narrative at the Montreal river, we learn soon of the earliest dwelling built by white men on the shores of lake Superior, a rude palisade with a covering of boughs. The narrative runs thus:

…Many of our wildmen went to win the shortest way to their nation, and weare then 3 and 20 boats, for we mett with some in that lake that joyned with us, and came to keepe us company, in hopes to gett knives from us, which they love better than we serve God, which should make us blush for shame. Seaven boats stayed of the nation of the Sault. We went on half a day before we could come to the landing place, and wear forced to make another carriage a point of 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad. As we came to the other sid we weare in a bay of 10 leagues about, if we had gone in. By goeing about that same point we passed a straight, for that point was very nigh the other side, which is a cape very much elevated like piramides. That point should be very fitt to build & advantageous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following. In that bay there is a chanell where we take great store of fishes, sturgeons of a vast biggnesse, and Pycks of seaven foot long. Att the end of this bay we landed. The wildmen gave thanks to that which they worship, we to God of Gods, to see ourselves in a place where we must leave our navigation and forsake our boats to undertake a harder peece of worke in hand, to which we are forced. The men [Hurons returning] told us that wee had 5 great dayes' journeys before we should arrive where their wives weare. We foresee the hard task that we weare to undergoe by carrying our bundles uppon our backs. They weare used to it. Here every one for himselfe & God for all.

We finding ourselves not able to perform such a taske, & they coulde not well tell where to finde their wives, fearing least the Nadoneceronons had warrs against their nation and forced them from their appointed place, my brother and I we consulted what was best to doe, and declared our will to them, which was thus: “Brethren, we resolve to stay here, being not accustomed to make any carriage on our backs as yee are wont. Goe yee and

looke for your wives. We will build us a fort here. And seeing that you are not able to carry all your merchandizes att once, we will keepe them for you and will stay for you 14 dayes. Before the time expired you will send to us if your wives be alive, and if you find them they will fetch what you leave here & what we have; ffor their paines they shall receive guifts of us. Soe you will see us in your countrey. If they be dead, we will spend all to be revenged, and will gather up the whole countrey for the 485 next spring, for that purpose to destroy those that weare the causers of their death, and you shall see our strength and vallour. Although there are seaven thousand fighting men in one village, you'll see we will make them runne away, & you shall kill them to your best liking by the very noise of our armes and our presence, who are the Gods of the earth among those people."

They woundered very much att our resolution. The next day they went their way and we stay for our assurance in the midst of many nations, being but two almost starved for want of food. We went about to make a fort of stakes, which was in this manner. Suppose that the watter side had ben in one end; att the same end there should be murtherers, and att need we made a bastion in a triangle to defend us from assault. The doore was neare the watter side, our fire was in the midle, and our bed on the right hand, covered. There weare boughs of trees all about our fort layed a crosse, one uppon an other. Besides these boughs we had a long cord tyed with some small bells, which weare senteryes. Finally, we made an end of that fort in 2 dayes' time. We made an end of some fish that we putt by for neede. But as soone as we are lodged we went to fish for more whilst the other kept the house. I was the fittest to goe out, being youngest. I tooke my gunne and goes where I never was before, so I choosed not one way before another. I went to the wood some 3 or 4 miles. I find a small brooke, where I walked by the sid awhile, which brought me into meddowes. There was a poole where weare a good store of bustards. I began to creepe though I might come neare. Thought to be in Canada, where the fowle is scared away; but the poore creatures, seeing me flatt uppon the ground, thought I was a beast as well as they, so they come neare me, whisling like gosslings, thinking to frighten me. The whistling that I made them heare was another musick then theirs. There I killed 3 and the

rest scared, which neverthelesse came to that place againe to see what sudaine sicknesse befeled their comrads. I shott againe; two payed for their curiositie.…

There we stayed still full 12 dayes without any news, but we had the company of other wildmen of other countreys that came to us admiring our fort and the workmanshipp. We suffered non to goe in but one person, and liked it so much the better, & often durst not goe in, so much they stood in feare of our armes, that weare in good order, which weare 5 guns, two musquetons, 3 fowling-pieces, 3 paire of great pistoletts, and 2 paire of pockett ons, and every one his sword and daggar. So that we might say that a Coward was not well enough armed.…

The 12th day we perceived afarr off some 50 yong men coming towards us, with some of our formest compagnions. We gave them leave to come into our fort, but they are astonied, calling us every foot devills to have made such a machine. They brought us victualls, thinking we weare halfe starved, but weare mightily mistaken, for we had more for them then they weare able to eate, having 3 score bustards and many sticks where was meate hanged plentifully. They offered to carry our baggage, being come a purpose; but we had not so much marchandize as when they went from us, because we hid some of them, that they might not have suspicion 486 of us. We told them that for feare of the dayly multitud of people that came to see us, for to have our goods, would kill us. We therefore tooke a boat and putt into it our marchandises; this we brought farre into the bay, where we sunke them, biding our devill not to lett them to be wett nor rusted, nor suffer them to be taken away, which he promised faithlesse that we should retourne and take them out of his hands; att which they weare astonished, believing it to be true as the Christians the Gospell. We hid them in the ground on the other sid of the river in a peece of ground. We told them that lye that they should not have suspicion of us.…We weare Cesars, being nobody to contradict us. We went away free from any burden, whilst those poore miserable thought themselves happy to carry our Equipage, for the hope that they had that we should give them a brasse ring, or an awle, or an needle.

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There came above foure hundred persons to see us goe away from that place, which admired more our actions [than] the fools of Paris to see enter their King and the Infanta of Spaine, his spouse; for they cry out “God save the King and Queene!” Those made horrid noise, and called Gods and Devills of the Earth and heavens. We marched foure dayes through the woods. The countrey is beautifull, with very few mountaines, the woods cleare. Att last we came within a league of the Cabbans, where we layed that the next day might be for our entrey. We 2 poore adventurers for the honour of our countrey, or of those that shall deserve it from that day; the nimblest and stoutest went before to warne before the people that we should make our entry to-morrow. Every one prepares to see what they never before have seene. We weare in cottages which weare neare a litle lake some 8 leagues in circuit. Att the watterside there weare abundance of litle boats made of trees that they have hollowed, and of rind.

This lake is thought by Father Chrysostom Verwyst to be Lac Courte Oreille, one of the northwestern sources of the Chippewa river in northern Wisconsin, nearly sixty miles south-south-west of Chequamegon bay. It is still called Ottawa lake by the Ojibways, who have a tradition that very long ago Ottawas died there of starvation. The tradition has probably been passed along nearly two centuries and a half, from the terrible winter of 1659–60, to be described by Radisson, when these explorers and the Indians of this region suffered for several weeks a frightful famine.

The narrative, referring still to the “litle boats,” continues:

The next day we weare to embarque in them, and arrived att the village by watter, which was composed of a hundred cabans without pallasados. There is nothing but cryes.…We destinated 3 presents, one for the men, one for the women, and the other for the children, to the end that they should remember that journey; that we should be spoaken of a 487 hundred years after, if other Europeans should not come in those quarters and be liberal to them, which will hardly come to passe.…The 3rd guift was of brasse rings, of small bells, and rasades of divers coulours, and given in this manner. We sent a man to make all the

children come together. When they weare there we throw these things over their heads. You would admire what a beat was among them, everyone striving to have the best. This was done uppon this consideration, that they should be allwayes under our protection, giving them wherewithall to make them merry & remember us when they should be men.

This done, we are called to the Councell of welcome and to the feast off ffriendshipp, afterwards to the dancing of the heads; but before the dancing we must mourne for the deceased, and then, for to forgett all sorrow, to the dance. We gave them foure small guifts that they should continue such ceremonyes, which they tooke willingly and did us good, that gave us authority among the whole nation. We knewed their councels, and made them doe whatsoever we thought best. This was a great advantage for us, you must think. Amongst such a rowish kind of people a guift is much, and well bestowed, and liberality much esteemed; but not prodigalitie is not in esteeme, for they abuse it, being brutish. Wee have ben useing such ceremonyes 3 whole dayes, & weare lodged in the cabban of the chiefest captayne, who came with us from the ffrench. We liked not the company of that blind, therefore left him. He wondered at this, but durst not speake, because we weare demi-gods. We came to a cottage of an ancient witty man, that had had a great familie and many children, his wife old, neverthelesse handsome. They weare of a nation called Malhonmines; that is, the nation of Oats, grainc that is much in that countrey. Of this afterwards more att large. I tooke this man for my ffather and the woman for my mother, soe the children consequently brothers and sisters. They adopted me. I gave every one a guift, and they to mee.

STARVATION IN WINTER.

Large numbers of the Huron and Ottawa exiles, flying before the Iroquois and seeking refuge first in the country of the Illinois and later on Prairie island, had, within the three years since the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson, been driven from that island by new enemies, the fierce Sioux of the neighbouring forest and prairie country on the north and west, and had again removed, following the Chippewa river of Wisconsin

to its sources, or, more probably, coming there by the equally direct route of the St. Croix river. Perrot, in his Memoir (p. 87), states that the Hurons and Ottawas, after leaving Prairie island, went up the Black river to its source, and that there the Hurons established for themselves a fortified village, while the Ottawas advanced to Chequamegon bay. Perhaps the Black river 488 was the route of the Ottawas; but the Hurons appear to have taken a northward course from Prairie island, ascending the St. Croix. Radisson's narrative certainly shows that the main settlement of the Hurons in 1659 was considerably north of the source of Black river, being instead on the headwaters of the Chippewa, according to Father Verwyst, in the vicinity of Lac Courte Oreille and the numerous other lakes south and east of Hayward in Sawyer county, Wisconsin. The acquaintance of the Hurons with a proposed rendezvous in the country of the Sioux, west of the St. Croix, implies that in their journeying northward many of their people had seen the place which was thus selected for their meeting in the midwinter. The march from Chequamegon bay, “four days through the woods,” arriving at the chief Huron village on a lake “some eight leagues in circuit,” agrees very well with Verwyst's identification of their locality.

In that wooded country, to which the Hurons had come so very recently, little had yet been done in raising corn. The poor fugitives had no Groseilliers during the preceding summer to urge the necessity of providing corn for their chief subsistence through the long, cold winter, when game and fish might be scarce. If any reader has thought that Longfellow in the most American poem of all our literature, “The Song of Hiawatha,” overdrew the horror of famine and starvation which sometimes befall the Indians in winter, let him listen to Radisson's pathetic narration.

Having so disposed of our buissinesse, the winter comes on, that warns us; the snow begins to fall, soe we must retire from the place to seeke our living in the woods. Every one getts his equipage ready. So away we goe, but not all to the same place; two, three att the most, went one way, and so of an other. They have so done because victuals weare scant for all in a place. But lett us where we will, we cannot escape the myghty hand of God, that disposes as he pleases, and who chastes us as a good & a common loving

ffather, and not as our sins doe deserve. Finaly wee depart one from an other. As many as we weare in number, we are reduced to a small company. We appointed a rendezvous after two months and a half, to take a new road & an advice what we should doe. During the said terme we sent messengers everywhere, to give speciall notice to all manner of persons and nation that within 5 moons the feast of death was to be celebrated, and that we should apeare together and explaine what the devill should command us to say, and then present them presents of peace and union. Now we must live on what God sends, and warre against the bears in the meane time, for we could aime att nothing else, which was the cause that we had no great cheare.…We beated downe the woods 489 dayly for to discover novelties. We killed severall other beasts, as Oriniacks, staggs, wild cows, Carriboucks, fallow does and bucks, Catts of mountains, child of the Devill; in a word, we lead a good life. The snow increases dayly. There we make raketts, not to play att ball, but to exercise ourselves in a game harder and more necessary. They are broad, made like racketts, that they may goe in the snow and not sinke when they runne after the eland or other beast.

We are come to the small lake, the place of rendezvous, where we found some company that weare there before us. We cottage ourselves, staying for the rest, that came every day. We stayed 14 dayes in this place most miserable, like to a churchyard; ffor there did fall such a quantity of snow and frost, and with such a thick mist, that all the snow stoocke to those trees that are there so ruffe, being deal trees, prusse cedars, and thorns, that caused that darknesse uppon the earth that it is to be believed that the sun was eclipsed them 2 months; ffor after the trees weare so laden with snow that fel'd afterwards, was as if it had been sifted, so by that means very light and not able to beare us, albeit we made racketts of 6 foot long and a foot and a halfe broad; so often thinking to tourne ourselves we felld over and over againe in the snow, and if we weare alone we should have difficultie enough to rise againe. By the noyse we made, the Beasts heard us a great way off; so the famine was among great many that had not provided before hand, and live upon what they gett that day, never thinking for the next. It grows wors and wors dayly.

To augument our misery we receive news of the Octanaks, who weare about a hundred and fifty, with their families. They had a quarrell with the hurrons in the Isle where we had come from some years before in the lake of the stairing hairs [Bois Blanc island, as identified by Campbell, in lake Huron], and came purposely to make warres against them the next summer. But lett us see if they brought us anything to subsist withall. But are worst provided then we; having no huntsmen, they are reduced to famine. But, O cursed covetousnesse, what art thou going to doe? It should be farr better to see a company of Rogues perish then see ourselves in danger to perish by that scourg so cruell. Hearing that they have had knives and hattchetts, the victualls of their poore children is taken away from them; yea, whatever they have, those doggs must have their share. They are the coursedest, unablest, the unfamous & cowarliest people that I have seene amongst fower score nations that I have frequented. O yee poore people, you shall have their booty, but you shall pay dearly for it! Everyone cryes out for hungar; the women become baren, and drie like wood. You men must eate the cord, being you have no more strength to make use of the bow. Children, you must die. ffrench, you called yourselves Gods of the earth, that you should be feared, for your interest; notwithstanding you shall tast of the bitternesse, and too happy if you escape.…Oh! if the musick that we heare could give us recreation, we wanted not any lamentable musick nor sad spectacle. In the morning the husband looks uppon his wife, the Brother his sister, the cozen the cozen, the Oncle the nevew, that weare for the most part found deade. They languish with cryes & hideous noise that it was able to make 490 the haire starre on the heads that have any apprehension. Good God, have mercy on so many poore innocent people, and of us that acknowledge thee, that having offended thee punishes us. But wee are not free of that cruell Executioner. Those that have any life seeketh out for roots, which could not be done without great difficultie, the earth being frozen 2 or 3 foote deepe, and the snow 5 or 6 above it. The greatest susibstance that we can have is of rind tree which growes like ivie about the trees; but to swallow it, we cutt the stick some 2 foot long, tying it in faggott, and boyle it, and when it boyles one houre or two the rind or skinne comes off with ease, which we take and drie it in the smoake and then reduce it into powder betwixt two graine-stoans, and putting the

kettle with the same watter uppon the fire, we make it a kind of broath, which nourished us, but becam thirstier and drier then the woode we eate.

The 2 first weeke we did eate our doggs…in the next place, the skins that weare reserved to make us shoose, cloath, and stokins, yea, most of the skins of our cottages, the castors' skins.…We burned the haire on the coals; the rest goes downe throats, eating heartily these things most abhorred. We went so eagerly to it that our gumms did bleede like one newly wounded. The wood was our food the rest of sorrowfull time. Finaly we became the very Image of death. We mistook ourselves very often, taking the living for the dead and the dead for the living. We wanted strength to draw the living out of the cabans, or if we did when we could, it was to putt them four paces in the snow. Att the end the wrath of God begins to appease itselfe, and pityes his poore creatures. If I should expresse all that befell us in that strange accidents, a great volume would not containe it. Here are above 500 dead, men, women, and children. It's time to come out of such miseryes. Our bodyes are not able to hold out any further.

After the storme, calme comes. But stormes favoured us, being that calme kills us. Here comes a wind and raine that putts a new life in us. The snow falls, the forest cleers itselfe, att which sight those that had strings left in their bowes takes courage to use it. The weather continued so 3 dayes that we needed no racketts more, for the snow hardened much. The small staggs are [as] if they weare stakes in it after they made 7 or 8 capers. It's an easy matter for us to take them and cutt their throats with our knives. Now we see ourselves a little fournished, but yett have not payed, ffor it cost many their lives. Our gutts became very straight by our long fasting, that they could not containe the quantity that some putt in them. I cannot omitt the pleasant thoughts of some of them wildmen. Seeing my brother allwayes in the same condition, they said that some Devill brought him wherewithall to eate; but if they had seene his body they should be of another opinion. The beard that covered his face made as if he had not altered his face. For me that had

no beard, they said I loved them, because I lived as well as they. From the second day we began to walke.

There came 2 men from a strange countrey who had a dogg; the businesse was how to catch him cunningly, knowing well those people love their beasts. Neverthelesse wee offred guifts, but they would not, which 491 made me stubborne. That dogge was very leane, and as hungry as we weare, but the masters have not suffered so much. I went one night neere that same cottage to doe what discretion permitts me not to speake. Those men weare Nadoneseronons. They weare much respected that no body durst not offend them, being that we weare uppon their land with their leave. The dogg comes out, not by any smell, but by good like. I take him and bring him a litle way. I stabbed him with my dagger. I brought him to the cottage, where [he] was broyled like a pigge and cutt in peeces, gutts and all, soe every one of the family had his share. The snow where he was killed was not lost; ffor one of our company went and gott it to season the kettles. We began to looke better dayly. We gave the rendezvous to the convenientest place to celebrat that great feast.

The narration shows that the winter began while Groseilliers and Radisson were guests, as we may say, of the Huron and Menominee Indians, probably at Lac Courte Oreille, near Hayward, Wisconsin. The first snowfall, and the ensuing separation of the Indians into parties of two or three for procuring sustenance by hunting, took place, as we must suppose, in the later part of October or early November, 1659. Two months and a half later, that is, at some time shortly after New Year's day of 1660, they came together at a “small lake, the place of rendezvous.”

This place was in the country of the Sioux, as Radisson tells us; and apparently from its vicinity, as he also says later, Groseilliers and Radisson went in seven days' travel to visit the prairie Sioux. To meet these conditions, I think that the appointed rendezvous, where severe famine prevailed, was at or not far distant from Knife lake, in Kanabec county, Minnesota, about fifteen miles southeast from Mille Lacs. Knife lake derived its name,

as shown by Hon. J. V. Brower (in Kathio, 1901, page 43), from the first acquirement of steel knives there by the Isanti or Knife Sioux, probably in their dealings at this time with Groseilliers and Radisson and with the Hurons and Ottawas of their company. It is about ninety miles west of Lac Courte Oreille, and all the intervening country was good hunting ground, probably then, as later, a neutral and usually uninhabited tract, between the Sioux and their eastern neighbors. From Knife lake southwestward to the broad prairie region of the Minnesota river, where the prairie Sioux (the Tintonwans) lived, is only a hundred and twenty-five miles in a straight line, or somewhat farther, about seven days' travel by canoeing, or by a land march late in 492 winter, down the St. Croix or the Rum river to the Mississippi and up the Minnesota river. If, as is here supposed, Knife lake was the rendezvous,it was previously known and had been visited by these Hurons, which they might have done in connection with their journey from Prairie island up the St. Croix to the lakes of northwestern Wisconsin.

After the Indians had gathered at the rendezvous, little game could be captured, the snow being five or six feet deep, for the subsistence of the large company, who numbered probably a thousand or more. During two weeks a most direful famine prevailed, which was made worse by the arrival of about a hundred and fifty Ottawas with their families. Though these Indians brought little or no food, and were themselves starving before their arrival, they received a share of the scanty provisions and game of the Hurons, to whom they bartered the highly valued iron and steel knives and hatchets which they had obtained in trade from the French. With the assemblage thus increased to a total of probably fifteen hundred men, women and children, terrible starvation followed. They were obliged even to make a thin soup from their beaver skins. The “greatest subsistence,” however, which was known to these Indians for such times of starvation, was a broth or soup made from the boiled, smoked, and powdered bark of a “rind tree which grows like ivie about the trees,” evidently the climbing bittersweet (Celastrus scandens, L.). This shrub, climbing around the trunks of trees, is common in woodlands throughout Wisconsin and Minnesota, excepting the extreme northern part of this state, north and northwest of lake Superior. In

these dreadful straits of famine more than five hundred died, as Radisson tells us; and he and his brother-in-law only narrowly escaped from death.

DEALINGS WITH THE SIOUX AND THE CREES.

Continuing his narration, Radisson gives a very interesting account of a visit by eight men of the Sioux, probably of the Isanti tribe living around Mille Lacs, and sixteen women bearing gifts, who came to Groseilliers and himself while they were still living apparently with the Hurons in the vicinity of Knife lake. This very remarkable visit and its ceremonies, with gifts, between the Sioux and the French traders, became probably the origin of 493 the names of Knife lake and river, and of this Isanti or Knife branch of the great Sioux nation or group of many tribes.

The time of the visit of these twenty-four Sioux is stated to have been “some two moons” after the famine; and again it is said that the grain brought by the visitors would have been welcome a month or two earlier. Accordingly we must consider the date of the visit and eight days of feasting with the Sioux to have been in the first half of March, or about then, ending near the middle of this month, in 1660. So many other proceedings are told, with allowances of time, for the latter part of the cold season, before the ice wholly disappeared from the west end of lake Superior, that it is necessary to assign as short estimates of time throughout as seem compatible with the successive parts of the narrative. This part runs as follows:

Some 2 moons after there came 8 ambassadors from the nation of Nadoneseronons, that we will call now the Nation of the beefe. Those men each had 2 wives, loadened of Oats, corne [wild rice] that growes in that countrey, of a small quantity of Indian Corne, with other grains, & it was to present to us, which we received as a great favour & token of friendshippe; but it had been welcome if they had brought it a month or two before. They made great ceremonys in greasing our feete and leggs, and we painted them with red. They stript us naked and putt uppon us cloath of buffe and of white castors. After

this they weeped uppon our heads until we weare wetted by their tears, and made us smoake in their pipes after they kindled them. It was not in common pipes, but in pipes of peace and of the warrs, that they pull out but very seldom, when there is occasion for heaven and earth. This done, they perfumed our cloaths and armour one after another, and to conclude did throw a great quantity of tobbacco into the fire. We told them that they prevented us, for letting us know that all persons of their nation came to visite us, that we might dispose of them.

The next morning they weare called by our Interpretor. We understood not a word of their language, being quit contrary to those that we weare with. They are arrived, they satt downe. We made a place for us more elevated, to be more att our ease & to appeare in more state. We borrowed their Calumet, saying that we are in their countrey, and that it was not lawfull for us to carry anything out of our countrey. That pipe is of a red stone, as bigge as a fist and as long as a hand. The small reede as long as five foot, in breadth, and of the thicknesse of a thumb. There is tyed to it the tayle of an eagle all painted over with severall coulours and open like a fan, or like that which makes a kind of a wheele when he shuts; below the toppe of the steeke is covered with feathers of ducks and other birds that are of a fine collour. We tooke the tayle of the eagle, and instead of it we hung 12 Iron bows in the same manner as the feathers weare, and a blade about it along the staffe, a hattchett planted 494 in the ground, and that calumet over it, and all our armours about it uppon forks. Every one smoaked his pipe of tobacco, nor they never goe without it. During that while there was a great silence. We prepared some powder that was litle wetted, and the good powder was precious to us. Our Interpreter told them in our name, “Brethren, we have accepted of your guifts. Yee are called here to know our will and pleasur that is such: first, we take you for our brethren by taking you into our protection, and for to shew you, we, instead of the eagles' tayle, have putt some of our armours, to the end that no ennemy shall approach it to breake the affinitie that we make now with you.” Then we tooke the 12 Iron off the bowes and lift them up, telling them those points shall passe over the whole world to defend and destroy your ennemyes, that are ours.

Then we putt the Irons in the same place againe. Then we tooke the sword and bad them have good courage, that by our means they should vanquish their Ennemy. After we tooke the hattchett that was planted in the ground, we tourned round about, telling them that we should kill those that would warre against them, and that we would make forts that they should come with more assurance to the feast of the dead. That done, we throw powder in the fire, that had more strength then we thought; it made the brands fly from one side to the other. We intended to make them believe that it was some of our Tobacco, and make them smoake as they made us smoake. But hearing such a noise, and they seeing that fire fled of every side, without any further delay or looke for so much time as looke for the dore of the cottage, one runne one way, another an other way ffor they never saw a sacrifice of tobacco so violent. They went all away, and we onely stayed in the place. We followed them to reassure them of their faintings. We visited them in their appartments, where they received [us] all trembling for feare, believing realy by that same meanes that we weare the Devils of the earth. There was nothing but feasting for 8 dayes.

Soon after the earliest snowfall in the autumn, Groseilliers and Radisson had “sent messengers everywhere” among the Dakota or Siouan tribes, inviting them to meet for a great celebration of a ceremonial feast within five months, that is, at the opening of spring, when the French traders would give “presents of peace and union.” At the rendezvous for the midwinter, supposed to be Knife lake, two Sioux had come to Groseilliers, Radisson, and the Hurons, in their temporary encampment, before the end of the time of famine; and to these Sioux envoys they had given “the rendezvous to the convenientest place to celebrate that great feast.” The later coming of the eight men and sixteen women of the Sioux was a preliminary of the convention of delegations from all the Sioux tribes, called by Radisson “eighteen several nations,” for the feast and parades to which they had been looking forward, with elaborate preparations and training, through all the winter.

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The French traders designed, on their part, to make this celebration of feasting and spectacular exhibitions an occasion long to be remembered by all these Indians as the first

time when they were witnesses of the superiority of the French, with their firearms, iron kettles, steel hatchets and knives, awls and needles, glass and tin-plated ornaments, etc. It was to be the beginning of a profitable fur trade for themselves, and for their successors during the future years. Prestige for France in her expected sway over these savage tribes was here to be established, somewhat as Jean Nicolet twenty-five years before had won the admiration, confidence, and commercial allegiance of the Winnebago Indians in eastern Wisconsin.

Some small tract of prairie, or of land cleared for cultivation, in the midst of the generally wooded country surrounding the former rendezvous, which we have identified as near Knife lake, was chosen by Groseilliers and Radisson, with their two Sioux visitors in January, to be the scene of the grand celebration in the spring. There a large area was paced out and was called a fort, where the tepees of the encamping Sioux could be seen from a long distance as they were approached across a meadow that extended along the course of a brook “more than four leagues.”

After a few days of ceremonies, speech-making, feasting, and bestowal of gifts, it was decided to invite also the Crees, of whom a large party were known to be encamped at the distance of two days' journey northward. About fifty of the Indians, and Radisson with them, went therefore to this temporary Cree village, to extend the invitation; and meanwhile many Indians from all the region flocked to the place of the grand celebration to see “those two redoubted nations” meet for friendly rivalry in feats of strength, agility, and skill, and in dancing and music.

Probably about three weeks were occupied in the various ceremonies and festivities, from the time when the representatives of eighteen tribes of the Sioux first arrived, until the close of the feast, when “every one returns to his country well satisfied.” The whole celebration thus extended, we may think, approximately from the middle of March to the first week of April. It was a very great event for the Sioux, who then, in their many tribes and bands, inhabited the greater part of the present state of Minnesota. Its story

is appreciatively told by Radisson as follows, continuing directly from our last foregoing quotation:

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The time was now nigh that we must goe to the rendezvous: this was betwixt a small lake and a medow. Being arrived, most of ours [the Hurons] weare allready in their cottages. In 3 dayes' time there arrived eighten severall nations, and came privately, to have done the sooner. As we became to the number of 500, we held a councell. Then the shouts and cryes and the encouragements weare proclaimed, that a fort should be builded. They went about the worke and made a large fort. It was about 603 score paces in lenght and 600 in breadth, so that it was a square. There we had a brooke that came from the lake and emptied itselfe in those medows, which had more than foure leagues in length. Our fort might be seene afar off, and on that side most delightfull, for the great many stagges that tooke the boldnesse to be carried by quarters where att other times they made good cheare.

In two dayes this was finished. Soon 30 yong men of the nation of the beefe arrived there, having nothing but bows and arrows, with very short garments, to be the nimbler in chasing the stagges. The Iron of their arrows weare made of staggs' pointed horens very neatly. They weare all proper men, and dressed with paint. They weare the discoverers and the foreguard. We kept a round place in the midle of our Cabban and covered it with long poles with skins over them, that we might have a shelter to keepe us from the snow. The cottages weare all in good order; in each 10, twelve companies or families. That company was brought to that place where there was wood layd for the fires. The snow was taken away, and the earth covered with deale tree bows. Severall kettles weare brought there full of meate. They rested and eat above 5 houres without speaking one to another. The considerablest of our companyes went and made speeches to them. After one takes his bow and shoots an arrow, and then cryes aloud, there speaks some few words, saying that they weare to lett them know the Elders of their village weare to come the morrow to renew the friendship and to make it with the ffrench, and that a great many of their

yong people came and brought them some part of their wayes to take their advice, ffor they had a minde to goe against the Christinos, who weare ready for them, and they in like manner to save their wives & children. They weare scattered in many Cabbans that night, expecting those that weare to come. To that purpose there was a vast large place prepared some hundred paces from the fort, where everything was ready for the receiving of those persons. They weare to sett their tents, that they bring uppon their backs. The pearches were putt out and planted as we received the news; the snow putt aside, and the boughs of trees covered the ground.

The day following they arrived with an incredible pomp. This made me thinke of the Intrance that the Polanders did in Paris, saving that they had not so many Jewells, but instead of them they had so many feathers. The ffirst weare yong people with their bows and arrows and Buckler on their shoulders, uppon which weare represented all manner of figures, according to their knowledge, as of the sun and moone, of terrestriall beasts, about its feathers very artificialy painted. Most of the men their 497 faces weare all over dabbed with several collours. Their hair turned up like a Crowne, and weare cutt very even, but rather so burned, for the fire is their cicers. They leave a tuff of haire upon their Crowne of their heads, tye it, and putt att the end of it some small pearles or some Turkey stones [turquoise], to bind their heads. They have a role commonly made of a snake's skin, where they tye severall bears' paws, or give a forme to some bitts of buff's horns, and put it about the said role. They grease themselves with very thick grease, & mingle it in reddish earth, which they bourne, as we our breeks. With this stuffe they gett their haire to stand up. They cutt some downe of Swan or other fowle that hath a white feather, and cover with it the crowne of their heads. Their ears are pierced in 5 places; the holes are so bigg that your little finger might passe through. They have yallow waire that they make with copper, made like a starr or a half moone, & there hang it. Many have Turkeys [turquoises]. They are cloathed with Oriniack & stagg's skins, but very light. Every one had the skin of a crow hanging att their guirdles. Their stokens all inbrodered with pearles and with their own proke-pick worke. They have very handsome shoose laced very thick

all over with a peece sowen att the side of the heele, which was of a haire of Buff, which trailed above halfe a foot upon the earth, or rather on the snow. They had swords and knives of a foot and a halfe long, and hattchetts very ingeniously done, and clubbs of wood made like backswords; some made of a round head that I admired it. When they kille their ennemy they cutt off the tuffe of haire and tye it about their armes. After all, they have a white robe made of Castors' skins painted. Those having passed through the midle of ours, that weare ranged att every side of the way. The Elders came with great gravitie and modestie, covered with buff coats which hung downe to the grounde. Every one had in his hand a pipe of Councell sett with precious jewells. They had a sack on their shoulders, and that that holds it grows in the midle of their stomacks and on their shoulders. In this sacke all the world is inclosed. Their face is not painted, but their heads dressed as the foremost. Then the women laden like unto so many mules, their burdens made a greater shew then they themselves; but I suppose the weight was not equipolent to its bignesse. They weare conducted to the appointed place, where the women unfolded their bundles, and flang their skins whereof their tents are made, so that they had howses [in] lesse than half an houre.

After they rested they came to the biggest cabbane constituted for that purpose. There weare fires kindled. Our Captayne made a speech of thanksgiving, which should be long to writ it. We are called to the councell of new come chiefe, where we came in great pompe, as you shall heare. First they come to make a sacrifice to the ffrench, being Gods and masters of all things, as of peace, as warrs; making the knives, the hattchetts, and the kettles rattle, etc. That they came purposely to putt themselves under their protection. Moreover, that they came to bring them back againe to their countrey, having by their means destroyed their Ennemyes abroad & neere. So said, they present us with guifts of Castors' skins, assuring us 32 498 that the mountains weare elevated, the valleys risen, the ways very smooth, the bows of trees cutt downe to goe with more ease, and bridges erected over rivers, for not to wett our feete; that the dores of their villages, cottages of their wives and daughters, weare open at any time to receive us, being wee kept them

alive by our merchandises. The second guift was, that they would die in their alliance, and that to certifie to all nations by continuing the peace, & weare willing to receive and assist them in their countrey, being well satisfied they weare come to celebrat the feast of the dead. The 3rd guift was for to have one of the doors of the fort opened, if neede required, to receive and keepe them from the Christinos that come to destroy them; being allwayes men, and the heavens made them so, that they weare obliged to goe before to defend their countrey and their wives, which is the dearest thing they had in the world, & in all times they weare esteemed stout & true soldiers, & that yett they would make it appeare by going to meet them; and that they would not degenerat, but shew by their actions that they weare as valiant as their fore ffathers. The 4th guift was presented to us, which [was] of Buff skins, to desire our assistance ffor being the masters of their lives, and could dispose of them as we would, as well of the peace as of the warrs, and that we might very well see that they did well to goe defend their owne countrey; that the true means to gett the victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gune, calling it *miniskoick* .

The speech being finished, they intreated us to be att the feast. We goe presently back again to fournish us with woaden bowls. We made foure men to carry our guns afore us, that we charged of powder alone, because of their unskillfullnesse that they might have killed their ffathers. We each of us had a paire of pistoletts and Sword, a dagger. We had a role of porkepick about our heads, which was as a crowne, and two little boyes that carryed the vessells that we had most need of; this was our dishes and our spoons. They made a place higher & most elevate, knowing our customs, in the midle for us to sitt, where we had the men lay our armes. Presently comes foure elders, with the calumet kindled in their hands. They present the candles to us to smoake, and foure beautifull maids that went before us carrying bears' skins to putt under us. When we weare together, an old man rises & throws our calumet att our feet, and bids them take the kettles from of the fire, and spoake that he thanked the sun that never was a day to him so happy as when he saw those terrible men whose words makes the earth quacke, and sang a while. Having ended, came and covers us with his vestment, and all naked except his feet and

leggs, he saith, “Yee are masters over us; dead or alive you have the power over us, and may dispose of us as your pleasur.” So done, takes the callumet of the feast, and brings it, so a maiden brings us a coale of fire to kindle it. So done, we rose, and one of us begins to sing. We bad the interpreter to tell them we should save & keep their lives, taking them for our brethren, and to testify that we shott of all our artillery, which was of twelve gunns. We draw our swords and long knives to our defence, if need should require, which putt the men in such a terror that 499 they knewed not what was best to run or stay. We throw a handfull of powder in the fire to make a greater noise and smoake.

Our songs being finished, we began our teeth to worke. We had there a kinde of rice, much like oats. It growes in the watter in 3 or 4 foote deepe. There is a God that shews himselfe in every countrey, almighty, full of goodnesse, and the preservation of those poore people who knoweth him not. They have a particular way to gather up that graine. Two takes a boat and two sticks, by which they gett the eare downe and gett the corne out of it. Their boat being full, they bring it to a fitt place to dry it, and that is their food for the most part of the winter, and doe dresse it thus: ffor each man a handfull of that they putt in the pott, that swells so much that it can suffice a man. After the feast was over there comes two maidens bringing wherewithall to smoake, the one the pipes, the other the fire. They offered ffirst to one of the elders, that satt downe by us. When he had smoaked, he bids them give it us. This being done, we went back to our fort as we came.

The day following we made the principall Persons come together to answer to their guifts. Being come with great solemnity, there we made our Interpreter tell them that we weare come from the other side of the great salted lake, not to kill them but to make them live; acknowledging you for our brethren and children, whom we will love henceforth as our owne; then we gave them a kettle. The second guift was to encourage them in all their undertakings, telling them that we liked men that generously defended themselves against all their ennemyes; and as we weare masters of peace and warrs, we are to dispose the affairs that we would see an universall peace all over the earth; and that this time we could not goe and force the nations that weare yett further to condescend & submitt to

our will, but that we would see the neighboring countreys in peace and union; that the Christinos weare our brethren, and have frequented them many winters; that we adopted them for our children, and tooke them under our protection; that we should send them ambassadors; that I myself should make them come, and conclude a generall peace; that we weare sure of their obedience to us; that the ffirst that should breake the peace we would be their enemy, and would reduce them to powder with our heavenly fire; that we had the word of the Christinos as well as theirs, and our thunders should serve us to make warrs against those that would not submitt to our will and desire, which was to see them good friends, to goe and make warrs against the upper nations, that doth not know us as yett. The guift was of 6 hattchetts. The 3rd was to oblige them to receive our propositions, likewise the Christinos, to lead them to the dance of Union, which was to be celebrated at the death's feast and banquett of kindred. If they would continue the warrs, that was not the meanes to see us againe in their Countrey. The 4th was that we thanked them ffor making us a free passage through their countreys. The guift was of 2 dozen of knives. The last was of smaller trifles,—6 gratters, 2 dozen of awles, 2 dozen of needles, 6 dozens of looking-glasses made of tine, a dozen of litle bells, 6 Ivory combs, with a litle vermillion. Butt ffor to make a recompence 500 to the good old man that spake so favorably, we gave him a hatchett, and to the Elders each a blade for a sword, and to the 2 maidens that served us 2 necklaces, which putt about their necks, and 2 braceletts for their armes. The last guift was in generall for all the women to love us and give us to eat when we should come to their cottages. The company gave us great *Ho! ho! ho!* that is, thanks. Our wildmen made others for their interest.

A company of about 50 weare dispatched to warne the Christinos of what we had done. I went myself, where we arrived the 3rd day, early in the morning. I was received with great demonstration of ffriendshippe. All that day we feasted, danced, and sing. I compared that place before to the Buttery of Paris, ffor the great quantity of meat that they use to have there; but now will compare it to that of London. There I received guifts of all sorts of meate, of grease more than 20 men could carry. The custome is not to deface anything

that they present. There weare above 600 men in a fort, with a great deale of baggage on their shoulders, and did draw it upon light slids made very neatly. I have not seen them att their entrance, ffor the snow blinded mee. Coming back, we passed a lake hardly frozen, and the sun [shone upon it] for the most part, ffor I looked a while steadfastly on it, so I was troubled with this seaven or eight dayes.

The meane while that we are there, arrived above a thousand that had not ben there but for those two redoubted nations that weare to see them doe what they never before had, a difference which was executed with a great deale of mirth. I ffor feare of being inuied I will obmitt onely that there weare playes, mirths, and bataills for sport, goeing and coming with cryes; each plaid his part. In the publick place the women danced with melody. The young men that indeavoured to gett a pryse, indeavoured to clime up a great post, very smooth, and greased with oyle of beare & oriniack grease. The stake was at least of 15 foot high. The price was a knife or other thing. We layd the stake there, but whoso could catch it should have it. The feast was made to eate all up. To honnour the feast many men and women did burst. Those of that place coming backe, came in sight of those of the village or fort, made postures in similitud of warrs. This was to discover the ennemy by signs; any that should doe soe we gave orders to take him, or kill him and take his head off. The prisoner to be tyed [and] to fight in retreating. To pull an arow out of the body; to exercise and strike with a clubbe, a buckler to theire feete, and take it if neede requireth, and defende himselfe, if neede requirs, from the ennemy; being in sentery to heark the ennemy that comes neere. and to heare the better lay him downe on the side. These postures are playd while the drums beate. This was a serious thing, without speaking except by nodding or gesture. Their drums weare earthern potts full of watter, covered with staggs-skin. The sticks like hammers for the purpose. The elders have bomkins to the end of their staves full of small stones, which make a ratle, to which young men and women goe in a cadance. The elders are about these potts, beating them and singing. The women also by, having 501 a nosegay in their hands, and dance very modestly, not lifting much their feete from the ground, keeping their heads downewards, makeing a

sweet harmony. We made guifts for that while 14 days' time. Every one brings the most exquisite things, to shew what his country affoards. The renewing of their alliances, the marriages according to their countrey coustoms, are made; also the visit of the boans of their deceased ffriends; ffor they keepe them and bestow them uppon one another. We sang in our language as they in theirs, to which they gave greate attention. We gave them severall guifts, and received many. They bestowed upon us above 300 robs of castors, out of which we brought not five to the ffrench, being far in the countrey.

Among all the very interesting records of negotiations and treaties of “peace and union,” made with the Indians of the Northwest by forerunners and agents of the French fur trade, none is more picturesque and dramatic than this. In the late autumn or winter of 1634–35, Jean Nicolet, wearing a fantastic silken Chinese vestment, met the Winnebago Indians for a ceremonious conference, in the vague belief that their country might border on the farthest eastern parts of Asia. In 1660, Groseilliers and Radisson, as we have seen, probably within the area of Kanabec county, in the east central part of Minnesota, taught to the Sioux and the Crees, previously hostile to each other, peace and friendship toward the French. In 1679, Du Luth ceremoniously planted the arms of France in the great village of the Isanti tribe at Mille Lacs, and in other Sioux villages of northeastern Minnesota, none of which, as he says, had been before visited by any Frenchman; and on the 15th of September in that year, at the west end of lake Superior, he negotiated a great treaty with the assembled tribes of the north, inducing them to make peace with the Sioux, “their common enemy.” During the remaining years of the seventeeenth century, Perrot, in 1689, at Fort St. Antoine, on the Wisconsin shore of lake Pepin, and Le Sueur in 1693 at Chequamegon bay, later at his trading post built on Prairie island in 1695 according to the command of the Governor of Canada, and again in the winter of 1700 at his Fort L'Huillier, on the Blue Earth river, were conspicuous by their efforts to maintain peace among the Indian tribes, loyalty to the French, and consequent extension and prosperity of the fur trade.

We may thank Radisson for his particular care to describe the Sioux who attended the great feast. He thus gave the earliest 502 portrayal of the characteristics of that people, the aboriginal owners of the greater part of Minnesota. It is to be regretted, however, that he recorded only a very meager account of the ensuing visit of these French traders with the Sioux of the Buffalo Prairies (“the Nation of the Beef”) in their own country.

Groseilliers and Radisson, according to the narration, went, immediately after the feast and probably in the company of the returning Tintonwan Sioux bands, by seven days' travel, to visit them at their homes. Their numerous tribes occupied an extensive prairie region, from eastern Iowa northwesterly through southern Minnesota to lakes Big Stone and Traverse and the broad, very flat, valley plain of the Red river of the North. It seems most probable that the French traders and their Indian escort went by the way of the Rum, Mississippi, and Minnesota rivers, passing the site of Minneapolis. Starting from the vicinity of Knife lake, as we think, very early in April, they spent six weeks in the visit, including in that time, we may suppose, the week of going and two weeks or longer of returning thence to lake Superior, so that their arrival at Chequamegon bay was probably within the last week or ten days of May.

Whether they went to the prairie country by canoes or afoot, the route seems to me to have been almost certainly along or near the courses of the Rum river and the Minnesota river. By traveling twenty-five or thirty miles daily, they would come in a week to the neighborhood of Swan lake and the site of New Ulm, in the same country where a hundred and seven years later Captain Jonathan Carver wintered, in 1766–67, with these prairie tribes. But if it be thought that “small journeys” could be no more than fifteen or twenty miles daily, the locality where they came to the camp of the roving and buffalo-hunting Sioux would be perhaps at the Shakopee prairie on the lower part of the Minnesota river, or perhaps even very near to Fort Snelling, or on the site of either of the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneaolis.

On the return to lake Superior, Groseilliers and Radisson accompanied a party of Ojibways who had been trafficking with these Sioux, probably buying furs, under the advice of the French traders, for their trip back to Lower Canada the next summer. The route of the return, doubtless by canoes, was apparently that most used by the Ojibways, passing down the Minnesota and 503 Mississippi rivers, by the sites of Fort Snelling, St. Paul, and Hastings, to the St. Croix, up that river to its headwaters, and thence by many laborious portages, and through small lakes and streams, to Chequamegon bay.

It is my belief that the journey going to the Prairie Sioux was made afoot, and that it reached as far as to the site of Shakopee, with its large prairie; or to Traverse des Sioux, with larger prairies; or,not improbably, to New Ulm, on the broad, far stretching prairies which continue thence uninterrupted for hundreds of miles to the west and south. As Radisson makes no mention of St. Anthony's falls, it may be supposed that the Frenchmen and their Indian companions, in passing the area of Minneapolis, took some footpath or trail through the west part of the city area, by lakes Calhoun and Harriet, to save distance in coming to the Minnesota river, so that they would not go within sight of the falls.

The return, with the Ojibway traders, was very surely by canoes. It is therefore quite within the limits of probability to picture in our minds these daring travelers and their Ojibway comrades encamping for a night among the willows of the Mississippi river bank where the union passenger station of the railways centering in St. Paul now stands, or else at the foot of Dayton's bluff, in the east edge of this city, where more than a century later Carver encamped with the Sioux from the Minnesota river.

A different route of the visit to the Sioux on their prairies is suggested by Hon. J. V. Brower,* with whom Mr. Alfred J. Hill was associated in the study of the early French explorations, indicating that the Mississippi was crossed by Groseilliers and Radisson “some thirty or forty miles above the present site of St. Paul,” that is, near the mouth of the Rum river or of the Crow river, passing thence up the Crow river to its sources and onward west to a large village of these Sioux near Big Stone and Traverse lakes. The distance to

be thus traveled, if the Frenchmen went to those lakes, was greater than by the Minnesota river to New Ulm; but they may not have gone that entire distance, as a large encampment of the Prairie Sioux for winter hunting and

* The Mississppi River and its Source (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. VII, 1893), pages 54 56; Prehistoric Man at the Headwater Basin of the Mississipppi, 1895, page 45.

504 trapping may have been found in the partly prairie, but mostly forest county of the Crow river. It seems to me very much more probable, however, that the route was southward, instead of westward, from the mouth of Rum river. The reasons for this opinion are, first, that the Minnesota river afforded the most convenient navigable communication with the great prairie region; and, second, that the Ojibways could come there for traffic, as noted by Radisson, without going so far from their own territory. Thirty-five years later, when LeSueur built his trading post on Prairie island, it was on the neutral ground between the Sioux and Ojibways, being therefore chosen as a favorable place for promoting peace between these tribes.

In the Tintonwan camp of great tepees, covered with skins of buffaloes, the Frenchmen were told that these Prairie Sioux could muster 7,000 warriors, which, from what they saw, seemed credible. They were shown, probably, masses of native copper from the glacial drift, such as are occasionally found in eastern and southern Minnesota and far southward in Iowa; also masses of galena, brought by these nomadic people from the lead region of eastern Iowa and northwestern Illinois; and selenite crystals, “transparent and tender,” from the Cretaceous shales, and from drift of Cretaceous derivation, on the high Coteau des Prairies southwest of the Minnesota valley.

The too concise description of the visit to the Prairie or Buffalo Sioux is as follows:

This feast ended, every one retourns to his countrey well satisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of the beefe, which was seaven small Journeys from that

place. We promised in like maner to the Christiuos the next spring we should come to their side of the upper lake, and there they should meete us, to come into their countrey. We being arrived among that nation of the beefe, we wondred to finde ourselves in a towne where weare great cabbans most covered with skins and other close matts. They tould us that there weare 7,000 men. This we believed. Those have as many wives as they can keepe. If any one did trespasse upon the other, his nose was cutt off, and often the crowne of his head. The maidens have all maner of freedome, but are forced to mary when they come to the age. The more they beare children the more they are respected. I have seene a man having 14 wives. There they have no wood, and make provision of mosse for their firing. This their place is environed with pearches which are a good distance one from an other, that they gett in the valleys where the Buffe use to repaire, uppon 505 which they do live. They sow corne but their harvest is small. The soyle is good, but the cold hinders it and the graine very small. In their countrey are mines of copper, of pewter, and of ledd. There are mountains covered with a kind of Stone that is transparent and tender, and like to that of Venice. The people stay not there all the yeare; they retire in winter towards the woods of the North, where they kill a quantity of Castors, and I say that there are not so good in the whole world, but not in such a store as the Christinos, but far better.

Wee stayed there 6 weeks, and came back with a company of people of the nation of the Sault, that came along with us loaden with booty. We weare 12 dayes before we could overtake our company that went to the lake. The spring approaches, which [is] the fitest time to kill the Oriniack. A wildman and I with my brother killed that time above 600, besides other beasts. We came to the lake side with much paines, ffor we sent our wildmen before, and we two weare forced to make cariages 5 dayes through the woods. After we mett with a company that did us a great deale of service, ffor they carryed what we had, and arrived att the appointed place before 3 dayes ended. Here we made a fort. Att our arrivall we found att least 20 cottages full.

The French brothers-in-law have returned to lake Superior, approaching it probably by nearly the same route as they traversed from it, and thus coming to the head of

Chequamegon bay, where they had landed from their canoes the preceding autumn. Their first care was to get the merchandise that they had hidden in the ground on the other side of a stream near their little stockade fort. Next they plan for the promised visit to the Crees, in their country on the north shore of the lake. But in drawing their sleds, heavily loaded with merchandise and furs, on the nearly dissolved ice of the bay, Radisson was chilled and wholly disabled by sinking more than knee-deep in the cold water, which caused him a dangerous illness for eight days.

As soon as he had somewhat recovered, he was induced to set out on a journey through the forest with Groseilliers and a large party of “new wildmen.” They appear to have traveled northwestward across the Bayfield peninsula, to the lakeshore some twenty-five or thirty miles west of Ashland and the head of Chequamegon bay. But on the third day, Radisson's lameness compelled him to lag behind the company, and for the next three (or five?) days he wandered on alone, until he was found by one of the Indians who were searching for him. Soon afterward he came to an Indian camp on the lakeshore, where he 506 found Groseilliers and a company of Crees, The lake ice had mostly melted, but many drifting masses remained, which endangered the canoe passage made at night across this narrow western end of the lake by Groseilliers and Radisson, following the Crees who crossed the day before. Apparently the passage was chosen to be at night in order to leave the Hurons and other Indians of their company unawares. We may be quite sure that it was explainable in some way for the interest of the traders in buying furs. Radisson asserts that the distance “thwarted” across the lake was fifteen leagues, or about forty miles;*

* The French league is 2.76 English miles.

but it really was only half so far, if my idea of the place of crossing is correct, as about midway between Ashland and the cities of Superior and Duluth.

The date of this crossing, when the ice had melted, excepting broken and drifting ice fragments, may have been as late as a week or ten days after the beginning of June,

which accords well with our foregoing computations of the dates of events recorded during the entire winter and spring. Hon. John R. Carey, in his paper on the history of Duluth, written in 1898, states that he “knew of two men getting off a steamboat that had been stuck in the ice for several days, on the 9th of June, almost forty years ago, and walking to shore on the broken ice a distance of six or eight miles.”*

* Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. IX, 1901, pages 270, 271.

So late continuance of the ice in the lake adjacent to Duluth is infrequent; but it may perhaps have remained even later in the year 1660, when Groseilliers and Radisson were there. The crossing apparently was not earlier than the first of June, nor later than June 15th.

The narration, resumed from the preceding quotation, runs thus:

One very faire evening we went to finde what we hide before, which we finde in good condition. We went about to execut our resolution, ffor-seeing that we must stay that year there, ffor which wee weare not very sorry, being resolved to know what we heard before. We waited untill the Ice should vanish, but received [news] that the Octanaks built a fort on the point that formes that Bay, which resembles a small lake. We went towards it with all speede. We had a great store of booty which we would not trust to the wildmen, ffor the occasion makes the thiefe. We overloaded our slide on that rotten Ice, and the further we went the Sun was stronger, which made our Trainage have more difficultie. I seeing 507 my brother so strained. I tooke the slide, which was heavier than mine, and he mine. Being in that extent above foure leagues from the ground, we sunke downe above the one halfe of the legge in the Ice, and must advance in spight of our teeth. To leave our booty was to undoe us. We strived so that I hurted myselfe in so much that I could not stand upright, nor any further. This putt us in great trouble. Uppon this I advised my brother to leave me with his slide. We putt the two sleds one by another. I tooke some cloathes to cover me. After I stripped myselfe from my wett cloathes, I layed myselfe downe on the slide; my brother leaves me to the keeping of that good God. We had not above two leagues more to goe.

He makes hast and came there in time and sends wildmen for me and the slids. There we found the perfidiousnesse of the Octanaks. Seeing us in Extremitie, would prescribe us laws. We promised them whatever they asked. They came to fetch me.

For eight dayes I was so tormented I thought never to recover. I rested neither day nor night; at last by means that God and my brother did use, which was by rubbing my leggs with hott oyle of bears and keeping my thigh and leggs well tyed, it came to its former strength. After a while I came to me selfe. There comes a great company of new wildmen to seeke a nation in that land for a weighty buissinesse. They desired me to goe a long, so I prepare myselfe to goe with them. I marched well 2 dayes; the 3rd day the sore begins to breake out againe, in so much that I could goe no further. Those left me, albeit I came for their sake. You will see the cruelties of those beasts, and I may think that those that liveth on fish uses more inhumanities then those that feed upon flesh; neverthelesse I proceeded forwards the best I could, but knewed [not] where for the most part, the sun being my onely guide.

There was some snow as yett on the ground, which was so hard in the mornings that I could not percave any tracks. The worst was that I had not a hattchett nor other arme, and not above the weight of ten pounds of victualls, without any drink. I was obliged to proceed five dayes for my good fortune. I indured much in the morning, but a little warmed, I went with more case. I looked betimes for som old cabbans where I found wood to make fire wherwith. I melted the snow in my cappe that was so greasy. One night I finding a cottage covered it with boughs of trees that I found ready cutt. The fire came to it as I began to slumber, which soon awaked me in hast, lame as I was, to save meselfe from the fire. My racketts, shoos, and stokens kept me my life; I must needs save them. I tooke them and flung them as farr as I could in the snow. The fire being out, I was forced to looke for them, as dark as it was, in the said snow, all naked & very lame, and almost starved both for hungar and cold. But what is it that a man cannot doe when he seeth that it concerns his

life, that one day he must loose? Yett we are to prolong it as much as we cane, & the very feare maketh us to invent new wayes.

The fifth day I heard a noyse and thought it of a wolfe. I stood still, and soone perceived that it was of a man. Many wild men weare up 508 and downe looking for me, fearing least the Bears should have devoured me. That man came neere and saluts me, and demands whether it was I. We both satt downe; he looks in my sacke to see if I had victualls, where he finds a peece as bigg as my fist. He eats this without participation, being their usuall way. He inquireth if I was a hungary. I tould him no, to shew meselfe stout and resolute. He takes a pipe of tobacco, and then above 20 pounds of victualls he takes out of his sack, and greased, and gives it me to eate. I eat what I could, and gave him the rest. He bids me have courage, that the village was not far off. He demands if I knewed the way, but I was not such as should say no. The village was att hand. The other wildmen arrived but the day before, and after a while came by boats to the lake. The boats weare made of Oriniacks' skins. I find my brother with a company of Christinos that weare arrived in my absence. We resolved to cover our buissinesse better, and close our designe as if we weare going a hunting, and send them before; that we would follow them the next night, which we did, & succeeded, but not without much labor and danger; for not knowing the right way to thwart the other side of the lake, we weare in danger to perish a thousand times because of the crums of Ice. We thwarted a place of 15 leagues. We arrived on the other side att night. When we came there, we knewed not where to goe,on the right or left hand, ffor we saw no body. Att last, as we with full sayle came from a deepe Bay, we perceived smoake and tents. Then many boats from thence came to meete us. We are received with much Joy by those poore Christinos. They suffered not that we trod on ground; they leade us into the midle of their cottages in our own boats, like a couple of cocks in a Basquett. There weare some wildmen that followed us but late….

FICTITIOUS JOURNEY TO HUDSON BAY.

Without beginning a new paragraph, Radisson turns abruptly away from the Cree encampment on the north shore of lake Superior, doubtless somewhere between fifteen and fifty miles northeast of Duluth, and quite probably very near the site of the present town of Two Harbors (but possibly farther west, close to the mouth of Knife river, or farther east, at Beaver bay), where the Crees had so heartily welcomed these traders. In two short sentences he reaches Hudson bay, and before the end of the paragraph he supplies confirmations of this statement by saying that they found a ruined house bearing bullet marks, and that the Indians there told of European visitors, meaning evidently that sailing vessels had come to that southern part of the bay. This section of the narrative, including indeed a whole 509 year, from the arrival at the Cree camp northwest of lake Superior to the time of preparations for the return to Lower Canada, seems to me to have been fictitiously inserted by Radisson, nearly as he added a fictitious year, according to my conclusions before noted, in the account of his previous far western expedition.

At the end of his narration of that expedition, Radisson wrote: “My brother and I considered whether we should discover what we have seene or no; and because we had not a full and whole discovery, which was that we have not ben in the bay of the north, not knowing anything but by report of the wild Christinos, we would make no mention of it for feare that those wildmen should tell us a fibbe. We would have made a discovery of it ourselves and have an assurance, before we should discover anything of it.” After reading these words, I have been very unwilling to disbelieve our author concerning the journey from lake Superior to Hudson bay, which was the chief object of ambition to both these explorers; but full consideration appears to me to show that Radisson here told to his English patrons, on a large scale and deliberately, for his personal advancement, what he feared that the wild Crees might have told to him, a fiction.

It will be preferable to give the continuation of Radisson's narrative, as follows, before stating in detail my numerous reasons for thus regarding it as false.

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…We went away with all hast possible to arrive the sooner att the great river. We came to the seaside, where we finde an old howse all demollished and battered with boulletts. We weare told that those that came there weare of two nations, one of the wolf, the other of the long-horned beast. All those nations are distinguished by the representation of the beasts or animals. They tell us particularities of the Europians. We know ourselves, and what Europ is, therefore in vaine they tell us as for that.

We went from Isle to Isle all that summer. We pluckt abundance of Ducks, as of all other sort of fowles; we wanted nor fish nor fresh meate. We weare well beloved, and weare overjoyed that we promised them to come with such shipps as we invented. This place hath a great store of cows. The wildmen kill them not except for necessary use. We went further in the bay to see the place that they weare to passe that summer. That river comes from the lake and empties itselfe in the river of Sagnes, called Tadousack, which is a hundred leagues in the great river of Canada, as where we weare in the Bay of the north. We left in this place our 510 marks and rendezvous. The wildmen that brought us defended us above all things, if we would come directly to them, that we should by no means land, and so goe to the river to the other sid, that is, to the north, towards the sea, telling us that those people weare very treacherous. Now, whether they tould us this out of pollicy, least we should not come to them ffirst, & so be deprived of what they thought to gett from us [I know not]. In that you may see that the envy and envy raigns every where amongst poore barbarous wild people as att Courts. They made us a mapp of what we could not see, because the time was nigh to reape among the bustards and Ducks. As we came to the place where these oats growes (they grow in many places), you would think it strang to see the great number of ffowles, that are so fatt by eating of this graine that heardly they will move from it. I have seene a wildman killing 3 ducks at once with one arrow. It is an ordinary thing to see five [or] six hundred swans together. I must professe I wondred that the winter there was so cold, when the sand boyles att the watter side for the extreame heate of the sun. I putt some eggs in that sand, and leave them halfe an houre; the eggs weare as hard as stones. We passed that summer quietly, coasting the seaside,

and as the cold began, we prevented the Ice. We have the commoditie of the river to carry our things in our boats to the best place, where weare most bests.

This is a wandring nation, and containeth a vaste countrey. In winter they live in the land for the hunting sake, and in summer by the watter for fishing. They never are many together, ffor feare of wronging one another. They are of a good nature,…having but one wife, and are [more] satisfied then any others that I knewed. They cloath themselves all over with castors' skins in winter, in summer of staggs' skins. They are the best huntsmen of all America, and scorns to catch a castor in a trappe. The circumjacent nations goe all naked when the season permitts it. But this have more modestie, ffor they putt a piece of copper made like a finger of a glove, which they use before their nature. They have the same tenets as the nation of the beefe, and their apparell from topp to toe. The women are tender and delicat, and takes as much paines as slaves. They are of more acute wits then the men, ffor the men are fools, but diligent about their worke. They kill not the yong castors, but leave them in the watter, being that they are sure that they will take him againe, which no other nation doth. They burne not their prisoners, but knock them in the head, or slain them with arrows, saying it's not decent for men to be so cruell. They have a stone of Turquois from the nation of the buff and beefe, with whome they had warrs. They pollish them, and give them the forme of pearle, long, flatt, round, and [hang] them att their nose. They [find] greene stones very fine, att the side of the same bay of the sea to the norwest. There is a nation called among themselves neuter. They speake the beefe and Christinos' speech, being friends to both. Those poore people could not tell us what to give us. They weare overjoyed when we sayd we should bring them commodities. We went up on another river to the upper lake. The nation of the beefe 511 sent us guifts, and we to them, by [the] ambassadors. In the midle of winter we joyned with a Company of the fort, who gladly received us. They weare resolved to goe to the ffrench the next spring, because they weare quite out of stocke. The feast of the dead consumed a great deale of it.…

By our ambassadors I came to know an other Lake which is northerly of their countrey. They say that it's bigger then all the rest. The upper end is allways frozen. Their ffish comes from those parts. There are people that lives there and dare not trade in it towards the south. There is a river so deepe and blacke that there is no bottome. They say that fish goes neither out nor in to that river. It is very warme, and it they durst navigate in it, they should not come to the end in 40 dayes. That river comes from the lake, and the inhabitants makes warrs against the birds, that defends & offends with theire bills that are as sharpe as sword. This I cannot tell for truth, but told me….

If Radisson had made the long journey with canoes from lake Superior to Hudson bay, by any one of several possible routes, it seems very certain that he would have given some account of the route, more than to indicate vaguely that it was by “the great river.” The only route that would suggest such description is the entirely improbable one by way of lake Winnipeg and the Nelson river. His claim to have reached Hudson bay is thus shown to be a fiction, because he would come to it by rivers of no great size. The error, curiously, is opposite to that which discredits his assertion in the former western expedition, that they came to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, where he failed to describe the necessary route thither by the greatest river of our continent.

Describing the fauna of the Hudson bay region, Radisson says that it “had a great store of cows,” that is, buffaloes. This statement, as Dr. George Bryce remarks, is inapplicable to Hudson bay, which lies far northeast of the former range of the buffalo, its limits being in the vicinity of the lake of the Woods and lake Winnipeg, near the northeastern borders of the vast prairie area.

The most absurd error of our narrator is his assertion concerning the remarkable heat of summer days in that northern country, of which he had perhaps received exaggerated ideas from the descriptions given by the Crees. It brands the whole story of the travel to Hudson bay as false when we are told that eggs can be cooked there by the heat of the

beach sand, and that 512 Radisson, in trying the experiment, left the eggs too long, so that they were boiled “as hard as stones.”

The Jesuit Relations and Journal indicate only one year as the duration of this expedition, which would suffice for all the narration of Radisson excepting the year that he gives to his vague and erroneous description of travel to Hudson bay and spending the summer there. He says that they returned to lake Superior by another river, a different canoe route; but he makes no mention of seeing the Lake of the Woods or lake Winnipeg either in going or returning. In view of all these considerations, we must reject the statements of the French authors, Potherie and Jeremie, who say that Groseilliers and Radisson visited Hudson bay overland from lake Superior; and also that of the English historian, Oldmixon, who wrote that these two French explorers, coming to the lake of the Assiniboines (lake Manitoba or lake Winnipeg), were thence conducted by the savages to Hudson bay. Such claims were doubtless made by Groseilliers and Radisson, both in England and France, during the next twenty-five years, for the prestige to be thus obtained in proffering their services for sea expeditions and commerce in the Hudson bay region; but no credence should be given to this part of Radisson's narration.

Professor Bryce well says: “Closely interpreted, it is plain that Radisson had not only not visited Hudson or James bay, but that he had a wrong conception of it altogether. He is simply giving a vague story of the Christinos.”

Oldmixon's statement that these French adventurers traveled first to the Assinibone country and lake Winnipeg is disproved by Radisson's description of that lake, based on his hearsay from the Indians. As we should expect, gross mistakes are admitted, as the estimate that it is larger than any of the lakes tributary to the St. Lawrence, and that its northern part is “always frozen.” It is also noteworthy that Radisson makes no mention of the Assiniboine Indians in connection with these western expeditions, excepting that, at the end of his narration, their old name, Asinipour, is included in his list of “the Nations that

live in the North." If he had traveled to the area of Manitoba, he could not have failed to become acquainted with the Assiniboines and to give some account of them.

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Besides the evidence contained in the Jesuit writings of 1659–60, implying that these Frenchmen spent only one year in this second western expedition, and making no mention of their going to Hudson bay (for which indeed they could not have had sufficient time in an absence of only a year from Lower Canada), the Relation for that year otherwise adds to our distrust of the Hudson bay statement of Radisson. During the summer of 1659, when, if his narration be accepted, he and Groseilliers were going "from isle to isle" in James and Hudson bays, the Jesuit Relation informs us that a journey about Hudson bay was made by an Algonquian chief or captain, named Awatanik, who had been baptized ten years before in the country of lake Nipissing. This Indian, according to the Relation, went across from lake Superior and coasted "along the entire Bay," finding abundance of game, and conversing much with the Indian tribes there. Returning to the St. Lawrence region by a southeastern route, he was interviewed July 30th, 1660, on the Saguenay river by the Jesuit reporter for the Relation of 1659–60.*

* The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. xiv, pages 216–233.

With such definite and full intelligence from the region of Hudson bay for the very year when Radisson claims to have been there, the Relation yet has no word of confirmation of his assertions, which, bearing many inherent marks of falsehood, seem from every point of view unworthy of our acceptance.

How far northward these traders advanced, we cannot determine; but to the present writer it appears quite unlikely that they went so far as to the northern boundary of Minnesota. Some writers have supposed that the "R. des Grossillers" of Franquelin's map in 1688 was named for Groseilliers, marking his route of departure from lake Superior to go to Hudson bay; but it seems better to consider this the Gooseberry river of the present map, translated from its Indian and French names, so designated for its abundance of wild

gooseberries. From the same berries Chouart adopted his title, probably likewise given to a land estate owned by him at Three Rivers.*

* See Brymner's remarks on this name, as quoted in the Bibliography near the end of this paper.

The map of Franquelin was apparently drafted for this part mainly according to information from Du Luth, who had recently traveled much west and north of lake Superior. 33

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THE RETURN TO MONTREAL AND THREE RIVERS.

Continuing from the last quotation of Radisson's narrative, it gives in the same paragraph the circumstances of the departure to return to lower Canada, apparently starting from Chequamegon bay, with a great company of Indians and very valuable furs, as follows:

…All the circumjacent neighbours do incourage us, saying that they would venter their lives with us, for which we weare much overjoyed to see them so freely disposed to go along with us. Here nothing but courage. “Brother, doe not lye, ffor the ffrench will not believe thee.” All men of courage and vallour, lett them fetch commodities, and not stand lazing and be a beggar in the cabbane. It is the way to be beloved of women, to goe and bring them wherewithall to be joyfull. We present guifts to one and to another for to warne them to that end that we should make the earth quake, and give terror to the Iroquoits if they weare so bold as to shew themselves. The Christinos made guifts that they might come with us. This was graunted unto them, to send 2 boats, to testifie that they weare retained slaves among the other nations, although they furnish them with castors. The boats ready, we embarque ourselves. We weare 700. There was not seene such a company to goe downe to the ffrench. There weare above 400 Christinos' boats that brought us their castors, in hopes that the people should give some marchandises for them. Att their retourne the biggest boats could carry onely the man and his wife, and could scarce carry with them 3 castors, so little weare their boats. In summer time I have

seene 300 men goe to warrs, and each man his boat, ffor they are that makes the least boats. The company that we had filled above 360 boats. There weare boats that caryed seaven men, and the least two.…

Radisson says that in two days they arrived at “the River of the sturgeon, so called because of the great quantity of sturgeons that we tooke there,” enough of these fish being dried to serve as provision for this large company during the next two weeks of canoeing along the lakeshore. It was doubtless the Ontonagon river, of which Dablon wrote, in the Jesuit Relation of 1669–70 (vol. liv., p. 151), as follows: “In the River named Nantounagan, which is toward the South, very extensive fishing for Sturgeon is carried on, day and night, from Spring until Autumn; and it is there that the Savages go to lay in their provision.”

Before they came to the Keweenaw peninsula, they surprised a small camp of seven Iroquois, “who doubtlesse stayed that winter in the lake of the hurrons, and came there to discover somewhat.” The Iroquois abandoned their boat and the camp 515 equipage, as a kettle, gun, hatchet, etc., and fled into the woods, The Indians accompanying Groseilliers and Radisson were greatly alarmed, lest they should meet many Iroquois, and resolved therefore to turn back and wait another year. With all the persuasion of the two Frenchmen, about a fortnight was lost in mustering courage again to advance. Radisson says:

…Twelve dayes are passed, in which time we gained some hopes of faire words. We called a councell before the company was disbanded, where we represented, if they weare discouvers, they had not vallued the losse of their kettle, knowing well they weare to gett another where their army layed, and if there should be an army it should appeare and we in such an number, they could be well afraid and turne backe. Our reasons weare hard and put in execution. The next day we embarqued, saving the Christinos, that weare afraid of a sight of a boat made of another stuff then theirs, that they went back as we came where the Iroquoits' boat was. Our words proved true and so proceeded in our way.

Being come nigh the Sault, we found a place where 2 of these men sweated, & for want of covers buried themselves in the sand by the watter side to keepe their bodyes from the flyes called maringoines, which otherwise had killed them with their stings. We thwarted those 2 great lakes with great pleasur, having the wind faire with us. It was a great satisfaction to see so many boats, and so many that never had before commerce with the ffrench. So my brother and I thought wee should be wellcomed. But, O covetousnesse, thou art the cause of many evils! We made a small sayle to every boate; every one strived to be not the last. The wind was double wayes favourable to us. The one gave us rest, the other advanced us very much, which wee wanted much because of the above said delay. We now are comed to the cariages and swift streames to gett the lake of the Castors. We made them with a courage, promptitud, and hungar which made goe with hast as well as the wind. We goe downe all the great river without any encounter, till we came to the long Sault, where my brother some years before made a shipwrake.…

Near the foot of the Long Sault, Adam Daulac or Dollard, and his handful of brave associates, late in May of this year 1660, had resisted 500 to 800 Iroquois, saving Montreal from attack and probable destruction by the sacrifice of their own lives. The scene of their heroic battle and death was examined by Radisson and his companions with amazement at the evidences of their valor, and with anxiety for the safety of Montreal, where they arrived the next morning. As at Quebec on their return from the previous expedition, the garrison greeted them by the firing of cannon, “with a great deal of Joy to see so great a number of boats that did almost cover the whole River.”

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Groseilliers and Radisson were less cordially welcomed at Quebec by the governor, Argenson, as appears in the continuation of the narrative.

Wee stayd 3 dayes at mont-Royall, and then wee went down to the three Rivers. The wildmen did aske our advice whether it was best for them to goe down further. We told them no, because of the dangers that they may meet with at their returne, for the Irokoits

could have notice of their comeing down, and so come and lay in ambush for them, and it was in the latter season, being about the end of August. Well, as soon as their businesse was done, they went back again very well satisfyed and wee very ill satisfied for our reception, which was very bad considering the service wee had done to the countrey, which will at another time discourage those that by our example would be willing to venture their lives for the benefit of the countrey, seeing a Governor that would grow rich by the labours and hazards of others.

The Governour, seeing us come back with a considerable summe for our own particular, and seeing that his time was expired and that he was to goe away, made use of that excuse to doe us wrong & to enrich himselfe with the goods that wee had so dearly bought, and by our meanes wee made the country to subsist, that without us had beene, I believe, oftentimes quite undone and ruined, and the better to say at his last beeding, no castors, no ship, & what to doe without necessary commodities. He made also my brother prisoner for not having observed his orders, and to be gone without his leave, although one of his letters made him blush for shame, not knowing what to say, but that he would have some of them at what price soever, that he might the better maintain his coach & horses at Paris. He fines us four thousand pounds to make a Fort at the three Rivers, telling us for all manner of satisfaction that he would give us leave to put our coat of armes upon it, and moreover 6,000 pounds for the country, saying that wee should not take it so strangely and so bad, being wee were inhabitants and did intend to finish our days in the same country with our Relations and Friends. But the Bougre did grease his chopps with it, and more, made us pay a custome which was the 4th part, which came to 14,000 pounds, so that wee had left but 46,000 pounds, and took away 24,000 pounds. Was not he a Tyrant to deal so with us, after wee had so hazarded our lives, & having brought in lesse then 2 years by that voyage, as the Factors of the said country said, between 40 and 50,000 pistolls? For they spoke to me in this manner: “In which country have you been? From whence doe you come? For wee never saw the like. From whence did come such excellent castors? Since your arrivall is come into our magazin very near 600,000 pounds

Tournois of that filthy merchandise, which will be prized like gold in France." And them were the very words that they said to me.

Seeing ourselves so wronged, my brother did resolve to goe and demand Justice in France. It had been better for him to have been contented with his losses without going and spend the rest in halfe a year's 517 time in France, having 10,000 pounds that he left with his wife, that was as good a Houswife as he. There he is in France ; he is paid with fair words and with promise to make him goe back from whence he came…

Radisson probably means so many livres Tournois or livres of Tours, nearly of the value of a modern franc, or about 19 or 20 cents. His imperfect knowledge of the English money and language misled him to write, throughout these paragraphs, of English pounds, where it would even have included some exaggeration if he had written of so many shillings, instead of pounds.

ACCOUNTS IN THE JESUIT RELATION AND JOURNAL.

The third chapter of the Relation of 1659–60, entitled "Of the Condition of the Algonquin Country, and of Some New Discoveries," gives first a long account of the travels and observations of Awatanik before mentioned, who spent the summer of 1659 in examining the Hudson Bay country, with much information derived from the Indians there and communicated by Awatanik to Father Jerome Lalemant, the writer of this part of the Relation. The remainder of the chapter tells what Lalemant learned, soon after his return from the Saguenay to Quebec, concerning discoveries by Groseilliers and Radisson, then arriving from their Lake Superior expedition. Their names are not stated, but the details of their journeying and of their visits with the Hurons and Sioux leave no doubt of their identity. In the Journal of the Jesuits, likewise written contemporaneously, Groseilliers is named as one of these two French pioneers of the fur trade. The Relation is as follows:

…Scarcely had I returned to Quebec when I found two Frenchmen there who had but just arrived from those upper countries, with three hundred Algonkins, in sixty canoes loaded

with furs. Following is an account of what they saw with their own eyes ; it will give us a view of the condition of the Algonkins of the West, as we have until now mentioned those of the North.

They passed the winter on the shores of lake Superior, and were fortunate enough to baptize there two hundred little children of the Algonkin Nation with whom they first made their abode. These children were the victims of disease and famine ; and forty went straight to Heaven, dying soon after Baptism.

During their winter season, our two Frenchmen made divers excursions to the surrounding tribes. Among other things, they saw, six days' journey beyond the lake toward the Southwest, a tribe composed of the 518 remnants of the Hurons of the Tobacco Nation, who have been compelled by the Iroquois to forsake their native land, and bury themselves so deep in the forests that they cannot be found by their enemies. These poor people—fleeing and pushing their way over mountains and rocks, through these vast unknown forests—fortunately encountered a beautiful River, large, wide, deep, and worthy of comparison, they say, with our great river St. Lawrence. On its banks they found the great Nation of the Alimiwec [Illinois], which gave them a very kind reception. This Nation comprises sixty Villages—which confirms us in the knowledge that we already possessed, concerning many thousands of people who fill all those Western regions.

Let us return to our two Frenchmen. Continuing their circuit, they were much surprised, on visiting the Nadwechiwec [Sioux], to see women disfigured by having the ends of their noses cut off down to the cartilage; in that part of the face, then, they resemble death's heads. Moreover, they have a round portion of the skin on the top of their heads torn away. Making inquiry as to the cause of this ill treatment, they learned, to their admiration, that it is the law of the country which condemns to this punishment all women guilty of adultery, in order that they may bear, graven on their faces, the penalty and shame of their sin.…Our Frenchmen visited the forty Villages of which this Nation is composed, in five of which there are reckoned as many as five thousand men. But we must take leave of these

people,—without much ceremony, however,—and enter the territories of another Nation, which is warlike and which with its bows and arrows has rendered itself as redoubtable among the upper Algonkins as the Iroquois among the lower; and so it bears the name of Poualak, which means “Warriors.”

As wood is scanty in supply and small in size in their country, nature has taught them to make fire with coal from the earth and to cover their cabins with skins. Some of the more ingenious make themselves buildings of loam, very nearly as the swallows build their nests; and they would sleep not less comfortably under these skins and this mud than do the great ones of the earth under their golden canopies, if they did not fear the Iroquois, who come in search of them from a distance of five and six hundred leagues.

But if the Iroquois goes thither, why shall not we also? If there are conquests to make, why shall not the faith make them, since it makes them in all parts of the world? Behold countless peoples, but the way to them is closed; therefore we must break down all obstacles, and, passing through a thousand deaths, leap into the midst of the flames, to deliver therefrom so many poor Nations.…

Exact dates of the departure of Groseilliers and Radisson from lake Superior, with their Indian company, and of their arrival at Montreal and Three Rivers, are supplied by the Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, which for August, 1660, has this entry:

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On the 17th, monseigneur of petræa [Laval, titular Bishop of Arabia Petráa, and vicar apostolic for New France] set out for his Visitation to 3 rivers and Montreal with Monsieur de Charny and others, and with the 4 oiochronons [Iroquois of the Cayuga tribe]. He arrived at Montreal on the 21st, at about 5 o'clock in the evening. The Outawats had arrived there on the 19th, and left on the following day, the 22nd, reaching 3 rivers on the 24th, whence they started on the 27th. They were 300 in number. Des grosilleres was in their Company ; he had gone to their country the previous year. They had started from

Lake Superior in 100 canoes; 40 turned back and 60 reached here, loaded with furs to the value of 200,000 livres. They left some to the value of 50,000 livres at Montreal, and took the remainder to 3 rivers. They came down in 26 Days, and took two months to return. Des grosillers wintered with the nation of the ox, which he says consists of 4 thousand men; they are sedentary Nadwesseronons. Father Menar, father Albanel, Jean Guerin, and 6 other frenchmen went with them.

The last sentence here quoted has led several writers to infer that Groseilliers and Radisson returned again to the west in 1660, according to the assertion that Fathers Menard and Albanel “went with them.” This expression, however, clearly refers to the large company of the returning Indians. We have no information of any later expedition by Groseilliers and his brother-in-law to the far west. Instead, as we have seen, on account of the exactions of the governor, Groseilliers went to France for redress; and the next expeditions which they took were sea voyages, putting forth their utmost efforts to aid the English in supplanting the French for the Hudson Bay fur trade.

Some writers also have thought one or both of these explorers to be Huguenots, or at least to have forsaken the Roman Catholic church when they entered the service of the English. On the contrary, their baptism of Indian children, probably by Groseilliers, is mentioned approvingly in the Jesuit accounts of both their far western expeditions; and I have found no indication that either of them changed afterward to Protestantism.

Observations of the Indian Tribes .

Radisson's writings contain a great amount of detailed information concerning the Indians with whom he dealt, roamed through the woods or prairies, canoed along the streams and lakes, and lived in wigwams and tepees. His pages of glowing 520 and minute description, recitals of addresses and parleys by the Indians and his brother and himself in the rude councils and festivals with the savages, and indeed the whole spirit and tone of his narrations, are redolent with the freshness and wildness of nature and of mankind in all

this great western region as it was two and a half centuries ago. In reading these pages, the mind is transported backward a quarter of a millennium. We see the wild red men in their hunting of game, on the “road of war,” and in the stealthy ambuscade; the women in their work of the lodge and the cornfields; and the youth and children in their pastimes, or, when famine befell, in the pangs of hunger even to death, with many also of the braves and whoever was old or weakened by disease.

Gathering throughout these narrations the varied threads of information of the Indians, and weaving them to present, as in a tapestry, the picture of savage life, the delineation of the Indian's character, his habits of thought and action, we can restore, in imagination, those bygone times when the aboriginal possessors of the country drained by the Hudson and the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi, dwelt at peace in their several tribal areas, or often carried war and devastation against their neighbors and even to distances of hundreds of leagues.

Among the tribes to whom Groseilliers and Radisson traveled, or with whom they dealt in the fur trade, or against whom they were compelled to defend themselves in the canoe journeys to and from the west, those which more or less nearly concern our studies of the first white explorations in the area of Minnesota are the Iroquois, Hurons, Ottawas, Winnebagoes, Ojibways, Dakotas or Sioux, and the Crees. These seven tribes or stocks of the red men will therefore be briefly noticed in this order, which is based on their former geographic position, and partly on the sequence of their description in the narratives of the two western expeditions.

IROQUOIS.

In the area of the state of New York, between the Hudson and Genesee rivers, dwelt the Iroquois, whose war parties were dreaded by all the surrounding tribes. The name probably means, according to Horatio Hale, those who smoke the pipe; but Charlevoix 521 attributed it to an exclamation used by Iroquois speakers, as in a council, at the end

of all their speeches. From a remote common ancestry, the Iroquois, while all continuing to speak the same language, had diverged into five tribes or nations, who had united in league before the first coming of the white men. This powerful confederation included, as Morgan estimates, at least 25,000 people at the period of their greatest prosperity and highest numbers, about the middle of the seventeenth century, when Groseilliers and Radisson made these expeditions.

In 1649–50 the Iroquois had conquered the Hurons, and within two years later the Ottawas; and in 1654 they nearly exterminated the Eries, acquiring undisputed possession of all the country about lake Erie. During seventy-five years, from 1625 to 1700, their raids of conquest and subjugation covered a wide region from New England to the Mississippi.

The Jesuit fathers, Radisson, and all writers on the history of this period, abound in testimony of the fear with which the other Indians and the French regarded these foes. The journeys of the fur traders and missionaries to and from the far west were practicable only by way of the Ottawa, Mattawa, and French rivers; for the route through lakes Ontario and Erie was debarred by the Iroquois. To undertake safely the trip down the Ottawa, with a year's collection of furs, required a very large escorting company of Indians, so formidable that the usual ranging parties of the Iroquois would not dare to attack them. As we have seen, several hundred Indians from the upper Mississippi and lakes Michigan and Superior made this trip with Groseilliers and Radisson on their return from both their western expeditions. Ten years afterward, in 1670, more than nine hundred Indians accompanied Perrot and four other Frenchmen when they returned from the west to Montreal.

The Five Nations of the Iroquois in Radisson's time were the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks. In 1715 they admitted the Tuscaroras into their league, a tribe of the same stock as shown by their language, who had lived before in North Carolina; and thenceforth they were commonly called the Six Nations. At the present day their descendants in northern and western New York, mostly living on reservations, number about 5,300, and in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, 522 Canada, about

8,000; while nearly 2,000 Oneidas live on a reservation in Wisconsin, whither the greater part of that tribe removed in 1846.

They called themselves the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or People of the Long House, meaning the long tract of country from the Hudson and Mohawk rivers past the Finger Lakes of central New York to the Genesee and Niagara, which was their home. Thus they indicated the close relationship of the Iroquois League, under which, as their thought is expressed by Morgan, their several nations “constituted one Family, dwelling together in one Long House.”

HURONS.

According to the Jesuit Relation of 1655–56, before cited, the principal bands of the Hurons, living in seventeen villages within an area of no greater extent than about fifty miles, had formerly numbered fully 30,000 people. From that home country southeast of Georgian bay, where they had depended largely on agriculture, especially the raising of corn, being mostly neither expert hunters nor practiced warriors, the survivors from the Iroquois attacks fled to Bois Blanc island and Mackinac, and to the region of Green bay and the Fox river.

The Tobacco nation, a more western band of this people, who had been so named for their diversified agriculture, notably including the plentiful cultivation of tobacco, went onward to the friendly Illinois tribe on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Thence, in company with some of the similarly exiled Ottawas, who had lived farther northwest, on lake Huron, they sought a permanent refuge and settlement in the region of the Upper Iowa river, nearly on the south line of the present state of Minnesota. Disappointed in finding no forests there, they advanced farther up the Mississippi, to Prairie island, in the midst of a beautiful country of forests and prairies, which they chose for their new home.

But in an evil day hostilities were begun by these Hurons against the Sioux, whom they thought to be at a disadvantage from their not having firearms. The greater numbers and

superior prowess of the Sioux enabled them soon to harass the Hurons 523 and Ottawas so that they again relinquished their homes and fled into the forest of northwestern Wisconsin, on the neutral ground between the Ojibways, Menominees, and other tribes on the east, and the warlike Sioux on the west.

Nicolas Perrot, who came in 1683 to the Mississippi, by way of the Wisconsin river, and was engaged in trade with the Indians thence northward to lake Pepin during several years, until 1689 or later, is the authority for the temporary settlement of the Hurons and Ottawas on Isle Pelée, now Prairie island, where Groseilliers and Radisson spent more than a year with them. He wrote a treatise entitled, in translation from the French, “Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America.” This was preserved in manuscript until 1864, when it was published by the Jesuit father, J. Tailhan, with important editorial notes and a very elaborate index.

Perrot had trading posts on lake Pepin, exerted a great influence over the Indians of Wisconsin, eastern Iowa, and southeastern Minnesota, and derived from them, and from the Indians and French of Chequamegon bay, the account of the wanderings of the Ottawas and Hurons, with their stay of a few years on Prairie island. It is given by his Memoir in its chapter xv, entitled, as translated, “Flight of the Hurons and Ottawas to the Mississippi.” This statement is very important in its confirmation of the view that Radisson's “first landing isle” was no other than Prairie island; and therefore it seems desirable to give here a close translation of it, which I have made as follows:

When all the Ottawas were scattered toward the lakes, the Saulteurs [Ojibways] and Missisakis [who had lived on the north shore of lake Huron] fled to the north, and then to Kionconan [Keweenaw], for the sake of hunting; and the Ottawas, fearing that they would not be sufficiently strong to resist the incursions of the Iroquois, who would be informed of the place where they had made their settlement, fled for refuge to the Mississippi river, which is called at the present time the Louisianne. They ascended this river to the distance of a dozen leagues or thereabout from the Wisconsin river, where they found another

river which is called the river of the Iowas [the Upper Iowa, heading in the southeastern part of Mower county, Minnesota]. They followed it to its source, and there encountered tribes who received them kindly. But in all the extent of country which they passed through having seen no place suitable for their settlement, by reason that there was no timber at all, and that it showed only prairies and smooth plains, though buffaloes and other animals were 524 in abundance, they resumed their same route to return upon their steps; and after having once more reached the Louisianne, they went higher up.

They were not long there without separating to go to one side and the other for hunting: I speak of one party only of their people, whom the Sioux encountered, took, and brought to their villages. The Sioux, who had not any acquaintance with firearms and other instruments which they saw in their possession, themselves using only knives of stone, as of a millstone, and axes of chert cobbles, hoped that these new tribes who had approached them would share with them the commodities which they had; and, believing that they were supernatural, because they had the use of this fire which had no resemblance with all that they had, like the stones and other things, just as I have said, they brought them to their villages, and afterward restored them to their own people.

The Ottawas and Hurons received them very well in their turn, without however giving them large presents. The Sioux came back to their people, with some little things which they had received from the Ottawas, distributed a part to the other villages of their allies, and gave hatchets to some and a few knives or awls to others. All these villages sent deputies to the Ottawas, where, as soon as they had arrived, they commenced, following their custom, to shed tears upon all whom they met, for indicating to them the unrestrained joy that they had in having found them, and to implore them to have pity upon them, by sharing with them this iron which they regarded as a divinity.

The Ottawas, seeing these people weep on all who presented themselves before them, considered it in scorn, and regarded them as people much inferior to themselves, incapable even of making war. They gave to them also a trifle, be it knives or awls,

which the Sioux showed that they esteemed very much, raising their eyes to heaven and blessing it for having conducted these tribes into their country, who would be able to procure for them so powerful means to make an end of their poverty. The Ottawas, who had some fowling-pieces, fired them, and the noise that they made frightened them so much that they imagined that it was the lightning or the thunder, of which they were masters to exterminate whomsoever they would.

The Sioux made a thousand expressions of affection to the Hurons and Ottawas everywhere they were, manifesting to them all subservience possible, to the end of moving them to compassion, and deriving from it some benefit; but the Ottawas had for them so much less of esteem, as they persisted in placing themselves before them in these attitudes of humiliation. The Ottawas decided finally to choose the island named Pelée for their settlement, where they were some years in peace. They there received often the visits of the Sioux. But a day arrived when the Hurons, being on the hunt, encountered some Sioux whom they killed. The Sioux, in sorrow for their comrades, did not know what had become of them; they found some days afterward the dead bodies from which they had cut off the head. They returned to their village hastily to bring this sad news, and encountered some Hurons on the road, whom they took 525 as prisoners. When they had arrived among their people, the chiefs released them and sent them back to their tribe. The Hurons, having so much of audacity as to imagine that the Sioux were incapable of resisting them without weapons of iron and firearms, conspired with the Ottawas to attack them and make war upon them, in order to drive them from their country, and for themselves to be able to extend farther the range of their hunting. The Ottawas and Hurons joined themselves together and marched against the Sioux. They believed that as soon as they appeared, they would flee; but they were much deceived, for they resisted their attacks, and even repelled them, and, if they had not retreated, they would have been entirely defeated by the great number of the horde who came from other villages of their allies for their help. They pursued them even to their settlement, where they were

constrained to make a poor fort, which did not permit them to be capable to make the Sioux turn back, even though they did not dare to attack it.

The continual raids which the Sioux made upon them obliged them to flee. They had acquaintance with a river which we call the Black river; they entered it, and, having arrived where it takes its source, the Hurons there found a place suitable for fortifying themselves and establishing their village. The Ottawas pushed farther, and marched to lake Superior, and fixed their abode at Chequamegon. The Sioux, seeing their enemies departed, dwelt in peace without pursuing them farther; but the Hurons were not content to stop there; they formed some expeditions against them, which produced little effect, drew upon themselves on the part of the Sioux frequent raids, and obliged them to quit their fort for going to join the Ottawas at Chequamegon, with a great loss of their people.*

* Parts of the foregoing narrative, and further extracts from Perrot's work, copied in French and translated by Alfred J. Hill, with his own and Tailhan's notes, were published by this Society in 1867, and were reprinted in 1889, entitled, “The Geography of Perrot, so far as it relates to Minnesota and the Regions immediately adjacent.” (Historical Collections, vol. ii, pp. 200–214.)

The narrative continues with warfare carried on by the Hurons, in the region of Chequamegon bay, against the Sioux of the country west and south. In 1670–71 these refugees, fearing a Sioux attack and massacre, abandoned their settlements on that bay, going again to live on the Manitoulin and Mackinac islands, in and adjoining the north part of lake Huron, whence, about eighteen years before, in 1652–53, this large part of the exiled Ottawa and Huron tribes had started on their travels to the Illinois, Mississippi, and Upper Iowa rivers, Prairie island, northern Wisconsin, and Chequamegon bay.

To my mind Perrot's narration is a complete proof that these refugees spent a few years on Prairie island, where, as has been shown, Groseilliers and Radisson visited them in 1655–56. Three years later, in 1659, the Hurons were found on the lakes 526 at the

sources of the Chippewa river, while the Ottawas had come to Chequamegon bay, or at least were there the next spring.

It is clearly known that the Hurons and Ottawas occupied Prairie island only four or five years, coming in 1653 or 1654, and departing probably in 1658, or perhaps a year earlier. Radisson says that in 1655 they had newly come to Prairie island. Before the summer of 1659 the Hurons had temporarily located at a lake in northern Wisconsin, thought to be Lac Courte Oreille, whence some of them, with Ojibways, went during that summer to Montreal and Three Rivers, afterward returning in the company of Groseilliers and Radisson. Besides, in harmony with Perrot's statement that the Ottawas came earliest to lake Superior, we have seen that in 1659–60 they were apparently just establishing themselves at Chequamegon bay; for, according to Radisson, in the spring of 1660 they built a fort on the long beach which incloses this bay at the northeast, now called Oak point.

In lineage and language the Hurons were of the extensive Iroquoian stock. The name Huron, from a French word, *hure* , was given to them by the French, in allusion to the ridged and bristling arrangement of their hair. Their descendants, known after their aboriginal name as Wyandots, now number some 700, about half being in the Indian Territory, and half in Canada.

An interesting sketch of the Tionontates, or Tobacco nation, from 1616, when they were first visited by the French, to the period of the Revolutionary War, was given by Shea in the Historical Magazine (vol. V, pp. 262–269, Sept., 1861). This branch of the Huron tribe, whose remnant, probably with other fugitive Hurons, we have traced in their wandering to Prairie island and Chequamegon bay, originally lived, according to Parkman, in the valleys of the Blue mountains, at the south extremity of Georgian bay. Their country, including nine villages in 1640, was two days' journey west from the frontier villages of the main body of the Hurons, among whom the Jesuits had very successful missions until the Iroquois devastated all that region.

OTTAWAS.

Franquelin, on his map of North America drafted in 1688, placed the Nations of Ottawas [Outaouacs] in Wisconsin and 527 northeastern Minnesota, indicating, erroneously, that it was a collective name for the native tribes of this region. It was often so used by the Jesuits and other early French writers, but not by the Indians. The Huron name for the Ottawas was Ondatahouats, signifying “the people of the forest;” and this name became shortened to Ottawas. The French nicknamed them as the *Cheveux relevez* , having crested hair; whence Radisson (pages 148 and 153) called them “the nation of the stairing haires.” He also gave this name to lake Huron, where they dwelt, limiting his “lake of the hurrons” to Georgian bay.

From their former homes, on and near lake Huron and on its islands, the Ottawas had been dispersed westward, about the years 1650–52, by the incursions of the Iroquois. A part of the tribe fled, with the Tobacco band of Hurons, to the Mississippi, lived a few years with them on Prairie island and in its vicinity, and then passed north to Chequamegon bay. The escort of Groseilliers and Radisson on their return from Prairie island to Quebec included Ottawa Indians; and Radisson also particularly mentions the Sinagoes, one of the four principal bands of the Ottawas, as a part of the same escort. The Ottawa river received its name from its being the route by which these Indians came yearly from lake Huron to trade with the French on the lower St. Lawrence.

In 1670–71 the Ottawas, being driven from Chequamegon bay by attacks of the Sioux, returned to the Grand Manitoulin island, one of their ancient places of abode, in the north part of lake Huron, where the Jesuits established among them a flourishing mission. They belong to the great Algonquian stock, and their language is closely allied with the Ojibway. About 3,000 of their descendants live in Michigan, in the region of Mackinac, on Grand Traverse and Little Traverse bays, etc.; about 900 are on Manitoulin and Cockburn islands, lake Huron; and a few, about 160, are on a reservation in the Indian Territory.

A party of Ottawas, coming to the Hurons during the famine in the winter of 1659–60, obtained a share of their very scanty food supplies, increasing the severity of the general starvation. Again, on Chequamegon bay, Ottawas exacted a large recompense from Groseilliers and Radisson for aiding them when the latter was chilled and exhausted in dragging their sleds, laden with merchandise and furs, across the melting ice 528 of the bay. Remembering their conduct on these occasions, Radisson ranked them as the lowest among “four score nations” of the Indians whom he had known.

WINNEBAGOES.

Green bay was known to the French in Radisson's time as the Bay of the Puants, or Winnebagoes; and their name is now borne by the large Winnebago lake on the old canoe route from Green bay by the Fox river to the Wisconsin and the Mississippi. They were there visited by Jean Nicolet in the winter of 1634–35, and by Groseilliers and Radisson in the winter of 1654–55. From the Winnebago country our two French traders, with a hundred and fifty Indians, tramped on snowshoes in the early spring of 1655 to the Mississippi, and thence ascended this river to visit the Huron and Ottawa settlement on Prairie island.

The Winnebagoes were an outlying tribe of the Siouan stock, mainly surrounded by Algonquian tribes. Their name, meaning the People of the Stinking Water, that is, of the sea,was adopted by the French from its use among the Algonquins, just as the name Sioux was received from the Ojibway and other Algonquian languages. The populous and powerful Winnebogoes continued in possession of the same area during two centuries after they first became known to history. In 1832 they ceded their country south and east of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the United States, and afterward many of the tribe were removed to northeastern Iowa. Thence, in 1848, they were removed to Long Prairie, in the central part of the present state of Minnesota; and in 1855 they were again removed, to a reservation in Blue Earth county of this state. In 1863, after the Sioux outbreak, they were removed to a reservation in Dakota; and in 1866 to a more suitable reservation in

Nebraska, where this part of the Winnebago tribe now numbers about 1,100. A larger number, stated by Grinnell as about 1,450, still live in Wisconsin.

OJIBWAYS.

By the early French voyageurs and writers the Ojibways were commonly called Saulteurs, from their once living in large numbers about the Sault Ste. Marie. Their area, however, also 529 comprised a great part of the shores of lakes Huron and Superior, with the adjoining country to variable distances inland During the eighteenth century they much extended their range southwestward, driving the Sioux from the wooded part of Minnesota, and also spreading across the Red river valley to the Turtle mountain on the boundary between North Dakota and Manitoba. In English their name appears, in a corrupted form, as Chippewas. Radisson called them Panoestigons, indicating this appellation to be an Ojibway equivalent of Saulteurs; and the same name is used in a few places, under different forms, Baouichtigouian, Pauoitigoueieuhak, Paouitagoung, and Pahouitingouach, by the Jesuit Relations.

It is asserted by Warren that the name Ojibway means, “To roast till puckered up,” referring to the torture of prisoners taken in war. This seems to me to be a more probable origin than any of the several others that have been advocated, as the puckering or plaiting of the moccasin; a puckering of the lips in speaking or drinking; the drawling pronunciation of words, which is said by Belcourt to characterize these people; or the contraction of the lakes toward the strait of Mackinac, once their refuge from the Iroquois, or toward St. Mary's river and falls, as was suggested by Governor Ramsey.*

* Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. v, “History of the Ojibway Nation,” pp. 36, 37, 82, 107, 399.

When Groseilliers and Radisson came to the Sault Ste, Marie, in 1659, the country was deserted, the Ojibways formerly there having fled westward before the fury of Iroquois rangers. Among the characteristics of the Ojibways which we discern in. Radisson's

writings is an aptitude for commercial enterprises, as they came yearly with their furs to Montreal and Quebec; and in the spring of 1660 Ojibway traders, after trafficking among the Sioux of the Prairies, returned with our Frenchmen to Chequamegon bay.

About 9,000 Ojibways are now living in northern Minnesota; about 2,200 in the vicinity of Devil's lake and Turtle mountain, North Dakota; 3,000 in Wisconsin; and probably 4,000 in Michigan. Their population in the United States is thus about 18,000. Nearly as many other Ojibways live in the Canadian province of Ontario, north of lakes Huron and Superior, and farther northwest in Manitoba: so that their entire numbers 34 530 are about 35,000. They are the largest tribe or division of the very widely spread Algonquian stock.

Both in Canada and the United States the Ojibways have generally manifested a disposition for peace with the white settlers. But in the early history of Minnesota, and during a hundred years before this territory was organized, they were almost continually hostile to the Sioux or Dakotas, with frequent raids, conflicts between small war parties, and ambuscades and murders by each of these wily hereditary foes.

William W. Warren, whose mother was an Ojibway, prepared, in 1851–53, an extended and very valuable “History of the Ojibway Nation,” chiefly relating to its part in Minnesota and Wisconsin, which was published in 1885 as Volume V of this Society's Historical Collections. In Volume IX of the same series, published in 1901, Rev. Joseph A. Gilfillan, who during more than twenty years was a very devoted missionary among the Ojibways in the White Earth reservation and other large parts of northern Minnesota, has contributed a paper of 74 pages, vividly portraying the habits and mode of life of this people, their customs and usages in intercourse with each other and with the white people, their diverse types of physical and mental development and characteristics, and much of their recent history.

Conflicts which were waged long and fiercely between the Ojibways and the Sioux for the possession of northeastern Minnesota, and the results of extended researches

concerning the artificial mounds and primitive men of this region, are set forth by Hon. J. V. Brower in three admirable monographs, Mille Lac, published in 1900; Kathio, in 1901; and Kakabikansing, in 1902.

SIOUX.

The aboriginal tribes and bands who were called by Radisson the Nadoneceronons (more commonly, by other writers, the Nadouesioux) or Nation of the Beef, that is, the Buffalo, inhabited nearly all of the present state of Minnesota, and also a large extent of the great prairie region farther south and west, in Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas. The Sioux and Assiniboines were first brought to the knowledge of Europeans in the Jesuit Relation of 1640, being reported to the writer, by Jean Nicolet, as living in the neighborhood of the Winnebagoes. In the Relation of 1642, information from Fathers Raymbault and 531 Jogues defined their country as nine days' journey beyond the west end of lake Superior.

Groseilliers and Radisson were the first of white men to visit the Sioux. They laid the foundation for fur trading, and counseled peace with the Crees and other tribes, against whom the Sioux, “the Iroquois of the West,” had frequent wars. After the great “feast of the dead,” when they thus sought to reconcile the Sioux and Crees, the French traders went to see the Sioux of the Buffalo Prairies in their own country. On their return to Montreal and Quebec, they described these travels; but, so far as the Jesuit Relations and Journal inform us, had not a word to say concerning the alleged journey to Hudson bay, which Radisson appears to have fabricated, telling it to the English in order to obtain better terms for service in founding the English fur trade there.

The locality of the feast and council with the Sioux, and with the Crees who were later invited, we have identified as somewhere on or near Knife river and lake in Kanabec county, Minnesota. These Frenchmen probably did not go to the very extensive settlement of the Sioux in the neighborhood of the mouth of Mille Lacs, only one or two days' journey westward from their Sioux and Cree feast. It is unfortunate that the name of that “great

village of the Nadouesioux, called Izatys, where never had a Frenchman been," as stated by Du Luth, previous to his own visit there on July 2, 1679, was misread by Brodhead, in the original manuscript of Du Luth's letter or memoir, as "Kathio," transcribing *Iz of Izatys* as "K," and *ys* as "hio" (Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Volume IX, published in 1855, page 795). Brodhead undoubtedly had before him the same manuscript that was used by Shea for his translation in 1880 (Hennepin's Discovery of Louisiana, Appendix, page 375), and by Margry for his French publication in 1886 (Margry Papers, Volume VI, page 22). Neill, Winchell, Hill, Brower, Coues, and the present writer, have been misled into using the name Kathio by Brodhead's error. It has been so much used, indeed, that it may be well retained as a synonym of Izatys.

The name Sioux is the terminal part of Nadouessis or Nadouesioux, a term of hatred, meaning snakes, enemies, which 532 was applied by the Ojibways and other Algonquins to this people, and sometimes also to the Iroquois. Under this long Algonquian name they were commonly designated by the Jesuit Relations, by Du Luth and Hennepin, by La Salle in 1682 on the lower Mississippi, and Perrot in 1689 at Fort St. Antoine on lake Pepin, when they each took formal possession of this region for France, and by other early writings and maps. Soon afterward, however, in Perrot's Memoir, and in the journals of Le Sueur and Penicaut, it had been shortened to its present form; but, much later, Carver again used the old unabbreviated name, probably because of acquaintance with the writings of Hennepin. The Sioux tribes dislike this alien name, and call themselves, collectively, Dakotas, that is, allies or confederates.

In the narration of his pretended journey to the Gulf of Mexico, Radisson stated that the "people that dwelleth about the salt water…are called Tatarga, that is to say, buff," meaning the buffalo, the Sioux or Dakota name of the buffalo being *tatanka* . He added that they went to war yearly against the Sioux and the Crees, showing that he supposed the Tatarga to be a distinct tribe or people. Again, in the account of his fictitious year in the second western expedition, describing the Crees in the region of Hudson bay, Radisson referred to their having "a stone of Turquois from the nation of the buff and beefe, with

whome they had warrs." At the end of the narration of this expedition, Radisson gave a list of the names of thirty-one Indian nations or tribes in the South, and another list of forty-one nations in the North, noting in each case that many of these tribes had been destroyed by the Iroquois. The four names ending the latter list are Christinos (Crees), Nadouceronons (Sioux), Quinipigousek (Winnebagoes), and Tatanga, the last being certainly intended to be identical with the Tatarga here mentioned. Radisson says in the brief comment following the list of the South: "All these Nations are sedentaries, and live upon corn and other grains, by hunting and fishing, which is plentiful, and by the ragouts of roots;" and, concerning the tribes of the North: "The two last [Winnebagoes and Tatanga] are sedentary and doe reap, and all the rest are wandering people, that live by their hunting and Fishing, and some few of Rice that they doe labour for."

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With little knowledge of the people named Tatanga, Radisson appears to have thus referred to one of the large divisions of the mainly nomadic Sioux of the western prairies and plains, the same which Le Sueur, writing about forty years later, called the Tintangaoughiatons, translating it as the Village of the Great Cabin or Tepee. This identification was first suggested by J. V. Brower and Alfred J. bill in the seventh volume of this Society's Historical Collections. The translation is more properly rendered by Hennepin, as "the Nation of the prairies, who are called Tintonha," from the Sioux word *tintah* , a prairie. They are the present Tintonwans, Titonwans, or Tetons, comprising many bands of Sioux who ranged over southern and western Minnesota and onward to the vast country of plains west of the Missouri.

Some bands of this people of the buffalo prairies, imperfectly known to Radisson as the Tatarga or Tatanga, lived not far westward of Prairie island, and by their later hostility compelled the Huron and Ottawa refugees to forsake their temporary home there, fleeing into northern Wisconsin. These prairie Indians, not recognized by the Frenchmen to be the same with the Nadouesioux, as they were called by the Ojibways, were almost surely

represented, under the name “ticacon,” in the motley retinue, from many tribes, who went with Groseilliers and Radisson from Prairie island to Montreal and Quebec.

The Tetons now number about 16,000; all the other Sioux or Dakotas in the United States number about 11,000; and their small bands in Canada, about 850. The entire Sioux people are thus approximately 28,000. In the times of Radisson and Hennepin they had probably somewhat greater numbers. The former was told that they had seven thousand men, that is, warriors; and the latter wrote: “These Indians number eight or nine thousand warriors, very brave, great runners, and very good bowmen.”

About 15,000 other Indians belong to the Siouan stock or family, which, besides the Sioux proper or Dakotas, includes also the Assiniboines or Stone Sioux, a tribe that seceded from the Sioux a few centuries ago, now numbering about 3,000; the Omahas, nearly 1,200; the Poncas, about 800; the Osages, nearly 1,800; the Winnebagoes, about 2,500, as before noted; 534 the Crows, some 2,000; and small remnants of the Kansas or Kaws, Iowas, Mandans, and several other tribes.

Near the Atlantic coast, numerous other Siouan tribes, some of whom were powerful, lived in Virginia and North and South Carolina, as made known by the researches of Hale, Gatschet, and Mooney; but they have dwindled until now only a few score of their people remain. From that eastern country the Sioux of the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers probably came by migration along the Ohio, passing mostly to the west of the Mississippi several centuries before the discovery of America.

After the conquest of the Mille Lacs region by the Ojibways, estimated by Brower to have taken place about 1750 or a few years earlier, the Mdewakantonwan Sioux, that is, those of Spirit lake, named Mille Lacs by the French, retreated to the south and established themselves on the Mississippi. Previously, in the year 1700, the vicinity of the Mississippi along the southeast border of the area of Minnesota was a neutral and mostly uninhabited country, called by the Indians a “road of war,” as Le Sueur wrote, “between the Scioux

and Outagamis [Foxes], because the latter, who dwell on the east side of the Mississippi, pass this road continually when going to war against the Scioux." Carver, ascending the Mississippi in 1766, found villages of Sioux, called the river bands, who had probably come from Mille Lacs since 1750, then living "near the river St. Croix," and his map shows them somewhat above that stream, in the neighborhood of St. Paul.

During the next forty years they extended much farther south. In 1805, Pike found the Minowa Kantong, as he wrote for Mdewakantonwans, beginning near Prairie du Chien and reaching along the course of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Minnesota, and also thirty-five miles up the latter river. These were the same as the Issati or Isanti tribe of Hennepin, who in 1680 and later lived in the region of Mille Lacs and the Rum river. They were apparently the largest tribe among the seven enumerated by Le Sueur as the Sioux of the East. Their descendants, now called Santees, number nearly 1,300, of whom about 1,000 are on the Santee reservation in Nebraska, and the others at Flandrau, South Dakota.

Leavenworth, in 1821, in giving his written testimony concerning the Carver land grant, said that the Sioux of the Plains 535 never owned land on the east side of the Mississippi; but already the former Sioux of Mille Lacs, having spread along this river far southward, deserved, as he thought, their distinctive designation as the Sioux of the River. They had become so fully possessors of the adjoining southwestern border of Wisconsin, previously owned by the Outagami or Fox tribe, that they exacted and received tribute for timber cut and rafted by Frenchmen from the Chippewa river.

Directly after the Sioux outbreak of 1862, nearly all of these Indians who had lived in Minnesota, belonging in numerous bands, fled or were removed to Dakota. Less than 200 full-blood Sioux remain in this state, and about 700 of mixed blood, mostly near Morton and Shakopee on the Minnesota river, in and near Mendota, at its mouth, and on Prairie island.

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, aided by other missionaries among the Sioux, prepared a very useful “Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language,” which was published in 1852 by the Smithsonian Institution, under the patronage of this Minnesota Historical Society, being the fourth volume (338 pages) of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. The part of this work comprising the Dakota-English Dictionary, much enlarged, was republished in 1890, as Volume VII (665 pages) of the U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. But an ample history of the Sioux, similar to Warren's work for the Ojibways, remains to be written and is much needed.*

* After these pages are ready for the press, I receive the South Dakota Historical Society Collections, Volume II, published in October, 1904, containing, as its Part II, “A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indian's” 523 pages, by Doane Robinson, Secretary, It treats briefly of the early history, but more fully of the last sixty years.

CREES.

North of the Sioux country and adjoining it, a vast forest area was occupied by the Crees, who, after the Ojibways, are the next largest tribe of the great Algonquian stock. Their name, spelled Christinos by Radisson, appears under a dozen forms, or more, in the Jesuit Relations and other works, as Cristinaux, Kilistinons, Kinistinons, etc. Rev. George A. Belcourt, long a missionary on the Red, Assiniboine, and Saskatchewan rivers, stated, in the first volume of this Society's Historical Collections, that the Crees call themselves Kinishtinak, that 536 is, held by the winds, referring to their dwelling on large lakes where in windy weather they could not travel with their little canoes. In Radisson's time, the Cree canoes, as described by him, were so small that they could carry only one or two persons, being the smallest seen by him among all the Indian tribes. Their country then extended into northern Minnesota, to the northwest shore and west end of lake Superior; east to lake Nipigon and James bay; far northward along the southwest side of Hudson bay; and west

to lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan. Franquelin's map, in 1688, called lake Winnipeg the Lake of the Crees, and lake Manitoba the Lake of the Assiniboines.

Awatanik, who, as before narrated, traveled in 1659 along the shore of Hudson bay, told of the Crees there as follows: “He noticed especially the Kilistinons, who are divided among nine different residences, some of a thousand, others of fifteen hundred men; they are settled in large villages, where they leave their wives and children while they chase the Moose and hunt the Beaver.”

Dablon, in the Jesuit Relation of 1670–71, wrote (vol. lv, p. 99): “Finally, the Kilistinons are dispersed through the whole Region to the North of this Lake Superior,—possessing neither corn, nor fields, nor any fixed abode; but forever wandering through those vast Forests, and seeking a livelihood there by hunting.”

Within the next hundred years after the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, the Crees mostly withdrew from Minnesota and lake Superior, yielding to the encroaching Ojibways. At the present time their geographic area reaches from James and Hudson bays west to lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, northwest almost to Athabaska lake and river, and through Saskatchewan and Alberta to the Rocky mountains. In their western extension they were separated from the country of the Sioux proper by that of the Assiniboines, who, beginning at the Lake of the Woods and the Red river of the North, ranged over the prairies and plains of southern Manitoba, Assiniboia, and northern Montana. The Crees now number about 15,000, all living in Canada, and are the largest of the Canadian Indian tribes.

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Traversing the eastern part of their country, which for journeys afoot is possible only in winter, one passes through forests alternating with small and large tracts of peat swamps, called muskegs, treeless or bearing a few tamaracks, and often inclosing a pond or lake. Hence the Crees in that region are commonly named the Swampy Crees. Northwestward,

where the timber is more continuous, they are called Wood Crees; and those who roam over the shrubby and grassy expanses of Alberta are the Plain Crees. But through all their great areal extent, they differ only very slightly in tribal character or in their language, which is nearly related to the Ojibway and other Algonquian languages. It is also to be noted that generally or always they have maintained peace with their Algonquian neighbors, and also with the Assiniboines, who, when seceding from the Sioux, placed themselves under the protection of the Crees.

Eleven years after the council held with the Sioux and Crees by Groseilliers and Radisson, the earliest pioneers of the fur trade in Minnesota, St. Lusson, with Perrot as his interpreter, summoned to the Sault Ste. Marie delegations from many nations or tribes of the upper Great Lakes and of the country farther north and west. They came, at the time appointed, from fourteen tribes, including the Crees and Assiniboines. On June 14, 1671, aided by Father Allouez, Perrot, and about twenty others of the French, St. Lusson, as a representative for Louis XIV, secured the assent of these Indians to his taking possession of their country, formally and with imposing ceremony, for France, promising in return to protect the Indians against any invading enemies. This treaty, if it may be so called, aimed to ally the native tribes with the French in opposition to the English, who were then establishing their trade on Hudson bay.

More like the work of Groseilliers and Radisson, for cultivating peace among the Indian tribes and alliance with France, were the efforts of Du Luth eight years after the convocation at Sault Ste. Marie. His report reads as follows, translated by Shea, with slight changes in proper names to accord with the original French text published in the Margry Papers.

On the 2d of July, 1679, I had the honor to plant his majesty's arms in the great village of the Nadouesioux, called Izatys, where never had a Frenchman been, no more than at the Songastikons and Houetbatons, distant 538 six score leagues from the former, where I also planted his majesty's arms, in the same year 1679.

On the 15th of September, having given the Asssenipoualaks [Assiniboines] as well as all the other northern nations a rendezvous at the extremity of lake Superior to induce them to make peace with the Nadouesioux, their, common enemy, they were all there, and I was happy enough to gain their esteem and friendship, and, in order that the peace might be lasting among them, I thought that I could not cement it better than by inducing the nations to make reciprocal marriages with each other, which I could not effect without great expense. The following winter I made them hold meetings in the woods, which I attended, in order that they might hunt together, give banquets, and, by this means, contract a closer friendship.

Between the second western expedition narrated by Radisson and this tour into Minnesota by Du Luth, we have no records of white men in this state. Separated by nearly twenty years, these forerunners of commerce and civilization earnestly sought, in the same region and by similar methods of persuasion, to win the Indian tribes to peace with each other and traffic with the French. A few years later came Perrot and Le Sueur, establishing trading posts on the Mississippi and on lake Superior, in the locations thought to be best for securing and maintaining intertribal peace, especially between the Ojibways and Sioux.

Progress of Discovery of the Mississippi River .

As Groseilliers and Radisson have the distinction of being the first white men to reach the upper Mississippi, it will be desirable to notice the successive steps of discovery by which this great river became known to Europeans.

Recent historical researches indicate that it was earliest discovered and mapped in a voyage of Pinzon and Solis, with Amerigo Vespucci as astronomer and cartographer, probably in March or April, 1498, less than six years from the first landfall of Columbus. Twenty-one years then passed before the Mississippi was next seen in the voyage of Pineda, in 1519, being reached by ascending a bayou from lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas. In 1528 one of the mouths of the Mississippi was seen in the forlorn last

voyage of Narvaez; and in 1541 this river was crossed, far above its mouth, by the ambitious but 539 ill-fated expedition of De Soto, and after his death it was descended by the survivors in boats to the gulf. Four times the Spaniards, within a period of forty-three years, reached by sea and by land the lower part of the Mississippi. They sought gold or silver in vain, and the extreme disasters of the two last expeditions caused them to abandon their purpose of planting colonies and making this region a part of New Spain. The entire river, excepting its sources, was to be explored and owned by others, but much later, for acquiring wealth by commerce, and for extending the dominion of France.

More than a hundred years after De Soto, the Mississippi was rediscovered by Europeans, this time in its upper course, when our two Frenchmen in 1655, with many Indian canoes, ascended it from near the Wisconsin river to Prairie island; and they crossed it higher, at or near the site of Minneapolis, in 1660.

Eighteen years after Groseilliers and Radisson first came, Joliet and Marquette navigated the Mississippi for a long distance southward from the Wisconsin river, to the Arkansas; and again, after seven years more, in 1680, it was navigated between the Illinois and the Rum river by Hennepin, and also, above the Wisconsin, by Du Luth. In 1682 La Salle led an expedition from the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi, and there proclaimed its vast drainage area to be the property of France. A few years later, about 1685–90, Le Sueur and his relative by marriage, Charleville, canoed from lake Pepin upward beyond the falls of St. Anthony, probably to Sandy lake; and in the last year of the seventeenth century, just forty-five years after Groseilliers superintended corn-raising by the Hurons on Prairie island, Le Sueur and a large mining party navigated the whole extent of the Mississippi from near its mouth to the Minnesota river, and then advanced up that stream to the Blue Earth River.

To glance somewhat more definitely at these several stages of exploration of our great river, during the first two centuries of its written history, will give a more adequate comprehension of what these earliest white men in Minnesota might have contributed to

geographic knowledge, if they had surmised the length and magnitude of the Mississippi, and had not chosen to conceal their discoveries from their countrymen.

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VESPUCCI, 1498.

Without seeking or suggestion by himself, the name of Amerigo Vespucci (also commonly known, in Latin as Americus Vespucius) was bestowed upon the New World, of which, next after Columbus, he was the most notable discoverer in the sense of bringing to the knowledge of Europe what he saw in four voyages. Though not in chief command of these expeditions, Vespucci was a skilled geographer, and his services as astronomer and pilot were required to determine and chart their courses, with the newly discovered lands. His letters of description, written to friends without expectation of publication, were printed and proved to be of such popular interest that they passed through many editions and translations, leading to the adoption of the name America, after his death, on maps and globes. It was at first applied to Brazil, which Vespucci coasted on his second, third, and fourth voyages, and was later extended to both North and South America. In his first voyages, with four vessels, leaving Spain May 10, 1497, and returning October 15, 1498, he appears to have sailed along the shores of Honduras, Yucatan, the Gulf of Mexico, Florida, and our southeastern seaboard north to Pamlico sound.

Between Vespucci and Columbus a cordial and mutual friendship existed, and the Florentine pilot had no wish nor thought of taking away from the Genoese admiral any part of the honor and gratitude due to him. Both sailed in the service of Spain, but Vespucci also made two voyages for Portugal. It was a Latin book by a German geographer, Waldseemüller, published in the little college town of St. Dié, in a valley of the Vosges mountains of northeastern France, April 25, 1507, which first proposed the name America for the region described by Vespucci south of the equator. There was at that time no intention to include under it the countries farther north discovered and explored by Columbus, Cabot, and other navigators. Winsor and Fiske have traced very instructively

the growth of European knowledge of the New World, whereby it was finally learned that all the coasts explored from Labrador to the strait of Magellan are connected parts of one vast continent, on which Mercator bestowed the single name America in 1541, twenty-nine years after Vespucci's death.

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Succeeding generations long imputed blame to Vespucci for this supplanting of Columbus in the name of the new continent; but either would have scorned to wrong the other, or to falsify or exaggerate intentionally in the narrations of their voyages. The personal honor of Vespucci has been vindicated by the researches of Alexander Humboldt and the Brazilian historian, Varnhagen; and the latter, in 1865 and 1869, well ascertained that Vespucci's first voyage, made in 1497–98, concerning which much doubt and misunderstanding remained because of the lack of many details in the narration, was the source of the first mapping of Yucatan, the Gulf of Mexico, and Florida. In Vespucci's chart of that very early date the Mississippi river was unmistakably delineated, with a three-mouthed delta projecting into the gulf.

Varnhagen's luminous researches, published between thirty and forty years ago, were brought more fully to the attention of readers of our English language by Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1883 (Central America, vol i, pp. 99–107), and especially by John Fiske's work, The Discovery of America, published in 1892. No official reports nor chart of Vespucci's first voyage, which was probably under the commandership of Pinzon and Solis, are preserved; but two very early maps, called the Cantino map and the Admiral's map, evidently drafted in part from the chart of that expedition, still exist, and were essentially reproduced ten years ago by Harrisse, Winsor, and Fiske, in their elaborate discussions of the Columbian and later discoveries.

Waldseemüller, the geographer at St. Dié, drafted the second of these maps, at some date probably after 1504 and certainly not later than 1508. It was published at Strasburg in an edition of Ptolemy in 1513, and was entitled “Tabula Terre Nove.” It contains a

reference to a “former Admiral,” probably Columbus. This map bears testimony of an expedition, regarded as the one described by Vespucci as his first voyage, which passed the Mississippi and charted its mouths; for, west of the Atlantic coast and Florida, where the shores and names are closely like the Cantino map, Waldseemüller gave a distorted outline of the Gulf of Mexico, with a large river emptying into it by three mouths, pushing its delta far into the gulf, in which respect the Mississippi surpasses any other river, this being indeed 542 the most remarkable feature of its embouchure. I cannot doubt, therefore, that Vespucci sailed past the Mississippi delta early in the year 1498, surveying the mouths of the river from the masthead, or very likely entering the river and spending some time there.

PINEDA, 1519.

The exploration of this coast was not resumed until Ponce de Leon voyaged to Florida and gave it this name for Easter Sunday (Pascua Florida), March 27, 1513, when he sighted its low coast. Six years later, in 1519, Alonso Alvarez de Pineda (or Pinedo) was sent as commander of an expedition of three or four sailing vessels to explore the coast farther west, under a commission from Garay, the governor of the Spanish settlement in Jamaica. The resulting map, transmitted by Garay to Spain, gives a somewhat correctly proportioned outline of the entire gulf, with Florida, Cuba, and Yucatan inclosing it on the east; and the Mississippi is named Rio del Espiritu Santo (River of the Holy Spirit). In Harrisse's Discovery of North America (1892, p. 168), a translation from the contemporary Spanish acount of this expedition says, concerning the Mississippi, that the ships “entered a river which was found to be very large and very deep, at the mouth of which they say they found an extensive town, where they remained forty days and careened their vessels. The natives treated our men in a friendly manner, trading with them, and giving what they possessed. The Spaniards ascended a distance of six leagues up the river, and saw on its banks, right and left, forty villages.”

Pineda's map shows the Mississippi as if it had a wide mouth, growing wider like a bay in going inland, and it has no representation of the delta; but this river and the several

others tributary to the gulf are all mapped only at their mouths. What he meant for the Mississippi is more clearly indicated by the map sent to Spain by Cortes and published there in 1524, which shows the Rio del Espiritu Santo flowing through two lakes close to its mouth, evidently intended to represent lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne. The same delineation of the lower Mississippi is given also by the Turin map, of about the year 1523. Both these maps, doubtless based on information supplied by Pineda, display 543 the course of the Mississippi above lake Pontchartrain to a distance of apparently at least a hundred miles, where it is represented as formed by three confluent streams. Through questioning the Indians, he probably learned of the Red river, and or its northern tributary, the Black river, which would be the two inflowing streams at nearly the distance mentioned from lake Pontchartrain.

The little ships of Pineda's expedition therefore must be supposed, according to these maps, to have entered the Mississippi by one of its numerous outflowing navigable bayous, which, before the construction of levees, discharged a considerable part of the waters of the great river through lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain, and Borgne. The Indian town noted at the mouth of the river may have been at the mouth of the bayou, that is, on or near lake Maurepas; or it may have been near the chief place of outflow from the main river, which most probably then, as in recent times, was at the Bayou Manchac, 117 miles above the site of New Orleans by the course of the river, and 14 miles below Baton Rouge. There is no reason to distrust the statement that within six leagues thence up the Mississippi the Spaniards observed forty groups of temporary or permanent Indian dwellings. If the ships only entered the mouth of the bayou (or of the Amite river, through which the several bayous send their waters to the lake), being there careened and repaired, it is easy to infer that some of the Spaniards ascended the Amite river and the Bayou Manchac in small boats to the Mississippi, noted the width of that mighty stream, sounded its great depth, and reported its Indian villages. The delta, jutting out as a long cape, was neglected by Pineda in his mapping, which was accepted

generally by cartographers. The chart of Vesucci's first voyage, more truthful as to this river's embouchure, had been lost and forgotten.

Harrisse, from a thorough study of records of Pineda's cruise, concludes that he came to the Mississippi in April or May, 1519, remained at the Indian town forty days, as stated, and went onward, exploring the coast of Louisiana and Texas, in June and July. He coasted beyond the Panuco river, but turned back when he reached the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, already occupied by Cortes. The next year Pineda again voyaged to the 544 Panuco, with many men and horses, to establish a colony, in which endeavor he and most of his company were killed by the Indians.

The recent discussions of Pineda's discoveries by Dr. Walter B. Scaife and others, who think that the Rio del Espiritu Santo was not the Mississippi, but that it was the Mobile river, with the Mobile bay at its mouth, will be most properly considered after our further notice of the route of Moscoso in the retreat down the Mississippi after De Soto's death, and of the route of Le Sueur, who was the first to pass along almost the entire navigable length of this river.

NARVAEZ, 1528.

Grandly but ignorantly planned, the expedition of Pamphilo (or Panfilo) de Narvaez, for exploration and colonization of the country north of the Gulf of Mexico, from Florida westward nearly to the Panuco river, over which he had been given the title of governor, was most utterly disastrous. Out of the three hundred men who began this expedition, only Cabeza de Vaca, the historian of their shipwrecks and wanderings, with three others, survived to reach Spanish settlements.

In April, 1528, after a stormy voyage from Cuba, Narvaez landed on the west coast of Florida, probably at Tampa bay. With great hardships, the expedition, mostly afoot, but having forty horses, marched through woods and swamps, crossed rivers, found an Indian town called Apalachen, and, finally turning back, came again to the sea, probably at the

site of St. Mark's, about fifty miles east of the Appalachicola river. Not finding his ships, on which he expected to re-embark, Narvaez consulted his followers, and they decided, although destitute of tools, to construct boats, and voyage westward along the coast. More than forty had died of disease and hunger, and ten had been killed, within sight of their camp and boat-building, by arrows of Indian foes, before they embarked, late in September, reduced to the number of two hundred and forty-seven, in five frail vessels, to be propelled by oars, but also provided with sails. They had no adequate means to carry water, and consequently suffered terribly by thirst, as also by hunger. On the sea they were in great peril during storms; and on landing they were assailed by the Indians with stones and arrows.

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About the end of October the wretched flotilla reached the Mississippi, of which Cabeza de Vaca wrote in his Relation, as translated by Buckingham Smith:

My boat, which was first, discovered a point made by the land, and, against a cape opposite, passed a broad river. I cast anchor near a little island forming the point, to await the arrival of the other boats. The Governor did not choose to come up, and entered a bay near by in which were a great many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea, the stream entering it in freshet. To parch some of the maize we brought with us, since we had eaten it raw for two days, we went on an island; but finding no wood we agreed to go to the river beyond the point, one league off. By no effort could we get there, so violent was the current on the way, which drove us out, while we contended and strove to gain the land. The north wind, which came from the shore, began to blow so strongly that it forced us to sea without our being able to overcome it. We sounded half a league out, and found with thirty fathoms we could not get bottom; but we were unable to satisfy ourselves that the current was not the cause of failure.

During the next week the boats, being rowed and drifted westward, were separated by storms; that of Narvaez may have foundered; others were driven ashore and wrecked.

Those of the men who escaped from the sea mostly perished by hunger and cold, while some were enslaved by the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca was held in servitude on and near the island where he was wrecked, probably the island of Galveston, during about six years. Thence escaping, with two Spaniards and a negro of their company, he wandered across Texas, Chihuahua, and Sonora, securing the friendly aid of the Indians all the way, and finally coming to the Spanish on the Pacific coast, near the mouth of the Gulf of California, at the end of March, 1536. The next year he returned to Spain, where his Relation was published in 1542. A map of his wanderings was made in Mexico for the viceroy, but it has not been preserved. No addition to the knowledge of the Mississippi was derived from this expedition.

DE SOTO, 1541–42.

Grander, equally foolhardy, and scarcely less direful, was the expedition of Hernando (Ferdinand) de Soto, similarly planned for discoveries, conquest, and the establishment of a colonial government. He attained to a possession of the country granted to him, but only by burial in its great river. 35

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By a strange infatuation, Cabeza de Vaca, arriving in Spain and being questioned by his kinsfolk, gave to them the impression that Florida, then including a large region northwest of the peninsula, was “the richest country in the world.” This was near the truth, if understood with reference to capabilities for agriculture; but the Spaniards pictured such wealth of gold and silver as had been recently plundered from Peru and Mexico. A soldier of fortune, De Soto, who was of noble lineage, but poor, having become suddenly rich with Pizarro from the spoils of Peru, was eager for greater wealth and power. Returning to Spain, he secured appointment as governor of Cuba, with a commission to extend Spanish dominion over Florida and the country north of the Gulf of Mexico, where he was to be the feudal lord and governor. It was the same commission as that which had lured Narvaez to his death; but it was thought to be a sure passport to great wealth. Many young

gentlemen of the noblest families in Spain, and some from Elvas in Portugal, flocked to De Soto's standard. One of the Portuguese, whose name is unknown, wrote the narrative, published in 1557, which is our chief source of information concerning the route and history of the expedition.* There were more volunteers than could be accepted; and, after an exultant voyage to Cuba and thence to Florida, De Soto landed, with about 600 men and 213 horses, at Tampa bay, May 30 (old style), 1539.

* An English translation of this Relation of “A Gentleman of Elvas” made by Richard Hakluyt, was published in 1611, and was reprinted for the Hakluyt Society in 1851. Another translation, by Buckingham Smith, from which ensuing quotations are taken, was published in New Vork by the Bradford Club in 1866.

Almost two years were spent in marches through inhospitable forests and swamps, fording rivers, and fighting with many tribes of Indians, but finding nothing worth plundering, with much suffering in the winter camps, until, in the spring of 1541, the weary and wellnigh despairing expedition came to the Mississippi river, probably at the Lower Chickasaw bluff (in Memphis, Tennessee, and extending ten miles down the east bank of the river), near the northwest corner of the present state of Mississippi, at the distance of about four hundred miles north of the gulf, but twice as far by the meandering watercourse. Armed Indians in two hundred canoes, coming from up the river, saluted the Spaniards, and the chief said to De Soto “that he had come to visit, serve, and obey him; for he had heard that he was the 547 greatest of lords, the most powerful on all the earth.” The Indians were doubtless treacherous; but here, as usual, the Spaniards were the first aggressors. When the canoes drew off from the shore, “the crossbow-men, who were in readiness,” according to the Portuguese Relation, “with loud cries shot at the Indians, and struck down five or six of them.”

Delay for thirty days was required in making four large boats to transfer the cavalry and foot soldiers across the river. Beginning one morning three hours before daybreak, by many trips to and fro, they all had crossed before the sun was two hours high, effecting

this important movement without molestation by their vigilant Indian enemies. Wherever they marched, the poor native people were robbed, some of them were treacherously killed, and others, taken captive, were compelled to carry burdens, or otherwise to aid the invaders. The Relation says of this river, which it calls the Rio Grande: “The distance [to cross it] was near half a league: a man standing on the shore could not be told, whether he were a man or something else, from the other side. The stream was swift, and very deep; the water, always flowing turbidly, brought along from above many trees and much timber, driven onward by its force.”

Nearly another year was spent in marches, exploration, and campaigning against the Indians, west of the Mississippi river, and on April 17, 1542, De Soto came again to the Mississippi, at the Indian town of Guachoya, close below the mouth of the Arkansas river. There he sank into a deep despondency, worn out by the long series of disappointments and losses which had attended the whole course of his expedition; he became sick with malarial fever; and on May 21 he died, after appointing Luis de Moscoso as his successor in command. To conceal his death from the Indians, the body, wrapped in blankets and heavily weighted with sand, was sunk in the middle part of the Mississippi. The new governor and leader, Moscoso, then told the chief of the Guachoya Indians that De Soto “had ascended into the skies, as he had done on other many occasions; but as he would have to be detained there some time, he had left him in his stead.”

Moscoso, after consulting the other officers, decided to march southwestward, hoping to reach Mexico; and half a year 548 was lost in going far southwest, repenting, and returning to the Mississippi at an Indian settlement called Aminoya, where the Spaniards found a large quantity of maize, indispensable for their sustenance. This place was a short distance above Guachoya, and apparently above the mouths of the Arkansas and White rivers, on the same west side of the great river. Seven brigantines were there built, on which, July 2, 1543, the Spaniards, reduced to the number of three hundred and twenty-two, launched to go down the Mississippi, taking with them about a hundred Indian slaves to be sold if they should reach Spanish settlements. Two weeks were occupied

in descending the river, by rowing and the aid of the strong current, covering a distance which was estimated as about 250 Portuguese or Spanish leagues, that is, about 1,000 English statute miles. (From the mouth of the Arkansas to the Bayou Manchac, by the course of the Mississippi, is a distance of 446 miles, and to the present mouths of the delta, 672 miles.) The debouchure of the Mississippi was described as follows:

When near the sea, it becomes divided into two arms, each of which may be a league and a half broad.…Half a league before coming to the sea, the Christians cast anchor, in order to take rest for a time, as they were weary from rowing.…[Here Indians came, in several canoes, for an attack.]…There also came some by land, through thicket and bog, with staves, having very sharp heads of fish-bone, who fought valiantly those of us who went out to meet them.…After remaining two days, the Christians went to where that branch of the river enters the sea; and having sounded there, they found forty fathoms depth of water. Pausing then, the Governor required that each should give his opinion respecting the voyage, whether they should sail to New Spain direct, by the high sea, or go thither keeping along from shore to shore.…It was decided to go along from one to another shore. …

On the eighteenth day of July the vessels got under weigh, with fair weather, and wind favorable for the voyage.…With a favorable wind they sailed all that day in fresh water, the next night, and the day following until vespers, at which they were greatly amazed; for they were very distant from the shore, and so great was the strength of the current of the river, the coast so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entered far into the sea.

Luis Hernandez de Biedma, a factor or agent for the king, Charles V, was a member of De Soto's expedition, of which, after returning to Spain, he submitted a report in 1544. From 549 the translation of that report, given by Buckingham Smith in the same volume with this narrative of “the Gentleman of Elvas,” we have the following considerably different description of what was thought to be the junction of the Mississippi with the gulf.

We came out by the mouth of the river, and entering into a very large bay made by it, which was so extensive that we passed along it three days and three nights, with fair weather, in all the time not seeing land, so that it appeared to us we were at sea, although we found the water still so fresh that it could well be drunk, like that of the river. Some small islets were seen westward, to which we went: thenceforward we kept close along the coast, where we took shell-fish, and looked for other things to eat, until we entered the River of Panuco, where we came and were well received by the Christians.

By comparing Biedma's report with the Portuguese Relation, I am convinced that the brigantines did not pass down the Mississippi to its delta, but went out to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Bayou Manchac, lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain, and Borgne, and the Mississippi sound. In other words, Moscoso, with his squadron, took the same passage that Pineda had taken, in 1519, for his entering the Mississippi. Several points in the two narrations need now to be explained in detail, as to their harmony with this conclusion.

First, the Indians had villages near the Bayou Manchac; but probably there were no inhabitants near the true mouth of the river, at the end of the delta. Second, under this view, we must regard the Portuguese statement of a division of the river, into two arms or branches, as referring to the large outflow, at a time of flood, to the Atchafalaya river. Instead of receiving an inflow at the junction of the Red river, the flooded Mississippi there sent out a portion of its current, by the mouth of the Red river, to the Atchafalaya; which also, when the Red river is at a higher stage than the Mississippi, takes a part of the current of the former, carrying it south by a much shorter course to the gulf. Third, another statement of that Relation, noting the great depth of forty fathoms where their branch of the river “enters the sea,” must be then interpreted as found in the bend of the Mississippi from which the Bayou Manchac flows away.

In its condition of a high flood, the river there opens toward 550 a vast expanse of water, called, by the narrator, “the sea,” reaching east over lake Maurepas and onward to

the gulf. It seems indeed not unlikely that the Mississippi at that place may have then had even so great depth; for in a sharp curve at New Orleans it was once found by the Mississippi River Commission to have a sounding of 208 feet. On the large scale maps recently published by this commission, the maximum depth of the river close to the departure of the Bayou Manchac is noted as 145 feet; and in the sharp bend in the east part of New Orleans, 188 feet.

Sailing on the wide lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne, with the very low lands inclosing the latter probably then submerged, Moscoso and his men would regard all that expanse of fresh water, reaching from the Bayou Manchac nearly a hundred miles east to the Mississippi sound, as “a very large bay” of the sea. They would consequently be surprised at the very long distance to which the Mississippi sent its waters without their becoming salt; whereas even the greatest floods could not freshen the sea very far out from the mouths of the delta. The Portuguese Relation says that the Mississippi, before the departure from Aminoya, had risen, in such a high flood, to the ground at the town, where the brigantines were built, floating them; and we may infer, with good assurance, that the same flood continued, at nearly its full height, through the next two weeks, till July 16, when they came to the Bayou Manchac and the vast fresh water expanse stretching thence far to the east.

Fifty-two days were spent in the slow coasting, with frequent landings, and long delays for storms and to provide shellfish for food, between the Mississippi and the Panuco river, which was entered September 10, 1543; and there the Spanish town of Panuco welcomed the surviving three hundred and eleven of De Soto's men.

Looking back over the history of this expedition and its results, we see that little was gained for geographic knowledge, and nothing for the honor of the mother country or extension of her colonies. With the clearer light which now enables all civilized nations to recognize the great truth of the brotherhood of all mankind, we are pained to read, throughout this narrative, the wanton cruelties, murderous warfare, stealing, and

shameless 551 perfidy, with which the Indians were treated by De Soto and his men, from the beginning to the end of their expedition. These men were the finished product of medieval chivalry; they had mostly an inordinate self-esteem; and they called themselves Christians, and De Soto died with Christian serenity, in penitence and faith; but in their conduct toward the savages every Christian or humane sentiment was sacrificed to the love of gold and self-advancement. The first white men to voyage far on the Mississippi, and to deal largely with its native peoples, deemed them outside the pale of human sympathy or mercy.

No geographer, nor expert draftsman for mapping, appears to have been enlisted by De Soto in his grand company of followers. But soon after the expedition was disbanded in Mexico, testimony of those who came back to Europe was taken by some unknown compiler as the basis for a revised map of the “Gulf and Coast of New Spain.” This map, preserved at Madrid in the Archives of the Indies, was lately ascribed to the year 1521 in the exhibition sent by Spain to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. It is reproduced by Harrisse in his great work, The Discovery of North America, and is proved by him to belong to the end of 1543 or some later date. It shows the Atlantic and Gulf coast, from Georgia to the Panuco river, and extends inland so far as the country was known, however vaguely, from the explorations of De Soto and Moscoso. The ultimate sources of the Mississippi river, called by Biedma and on this map the Espiritu Santo, are placed on the northwestern flank of the Appalachian mountain belt, due north of Tampa bay. Thence two streams, meant for the Tennessee and Cumberland (or perhaps Ohio) rivers, of which De Soto had accounts from the Indians, flow west and unite to form the Espiritu Santo, near whose west bank, close below the confluence of a large tributary from the northwest, is Guachoya, the deathplace of De Soto. Many other names are also noted, mostly of towns or districts of Indian tribes, derived from his expedition. No indication of the Ohio (probably) nor the Missouri, nor of the Red river as a tributary of the Mississippi, is given by this map. Its northern boundary, beyond which it has only blank space, is at the supposed Cumberland river, and at mountains adjoining the sources of the northwestern

tributary, that is, the Arkansas river. The Mississippi 552 empties into the Vaya (Bay) del Espiritu Santo, which is also called Mar Pequeña (Little Sea), taking the place of the lakes north of New Orleans, and thus confirming my conclusions as to Moscoso's passage into the gulf. Excepting the long tributaries from the northeast, no greater prominence is given to the Mississippi than to several others of the many rivers pouring into the Atlantic and the Gulf along all this coast.

Here cartography rested during a hundred and thirty years. The next contribution from exploration of the Mississippi was by Marquette's map in 1673.

GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, 1655–60.

Maps and globes made during the period between De Soto and Champlain portray the interior of North America, comprising the region of Minnesota, as drained entirely by the upper part of the St. Lawrence, which is shown as a very long river, with no suggestion of its great lakes. Jean Nicolet, in 1634–35, extended his explorations, as the forerunner of the fur trade and the Jesuit missions, to the falls of St. Mary, at the mouth of lake Superior, and to the Fox river, above Green bay. At the western limit of his travel in Wisconsin he learned of a great water, beyond the Fox river, which he supposed to be an ocean. It was the Mississippi (Great River). But this Algonquian name, from which came Nicolet's mistake, was first recorded by the Relations of the Jesuits for 1666–67 and 1670–71, many years after they had possessed some vague knowledge of the stream. The Relation of the latter date gives the following description of it, gathered from the Indians.

It seems to form an inclosure, as it were, for all our lakes, rising in the regions of the North and flowing toward the south, until it empties into the sea—supposed by us to be either the vermilion or the Florida Sea [that is, the Gulf of California or the Gulf of Mexico], as there is no knowledge of any large rivers in that direction except those which empty into these two Seas. Some Savages have assured us that this is so noble a river that, at more than three hundred leagues' distance from its mouth, it is larger than the one flowing before Quebec,

for they declare that it is more than a league wide [referring probably to its enlargement in lake Pepin].

Previously, through more than a hundred years, the rude maps that resulted from De Soto's expedition had been accepted 553 as evidence that the area draining to the Gulf of Mexico had no great northward extent. Groseilliers and Radisson, on their return to Lower Canada in 1656, knew of the great river running southward beyond the lakes of the St. Lawrence; but they refrained from communicating their knowledge to those more able to comprehend its grand significance, as the first discovery of the mighty river system flowing to the south in the interior of the continent.

JOLIET AND MARQUETTE, 1673.

Between the part of the Mississippi navigated by the Spaniards in 1543, southward from the Arkansas river, and the part first seen by our two Frenchmen in the spring of 1655, a section extending through nine degrees of latitude remained to be first surveyed by white men in the summer of 1673, when the canoes of Louis Joliet, a young, but skilled explorer, delegated by Frontenac to this enterprise, and the Christian hero, Father Jacques Marquette, passed down the great river from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, and returned, partly by the same route, and along the Illinois river, to lake Michigan. The most southern Indian villages reached by Joliet and Marquette were Mitchigamea, on the west side of the Mississippi, not far above the White and Arkansas rivers, and Akansea, on the east side, nearly opposite to these large tributaries. As remarked by B. F. French, the former village was perhaps on the site of Aminoya, whence Moscoso descended the Mississippi; and the latter near Guachoya, where De Soto died, but on the opposite shore of the river. With Marquette's exceedingly interesting narrative of this voyage, we have his map, a pen sketch, giving the course of the Mississippi so far as it was seen by him, and marking its chief affluents, the Des Moines, Missouri, and Arkansas, on the west, and the Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio, on the east.

The voyagers turned back at Akansea, through fear of Spaniards or the Indian tribes beyond. They had gone far enough to prove the Mississippi a tributary of the Gulf of Mexico; to discover its vast prairies as a most fertile country, abounding with buffalo herds; and to learn of many aboriginal tribes, among whom these pioneers went as friends, opening the way for founding trading posts and Christian missions. Through their 554 narratives and maps, it soon became known to their countrymen that the Mississippi basin was an unclaimed empire, well worthy of every effort to secure it for France.

HENNEPIN AND DU LUTH, 1680.

The whole country of the Mississippi, from the Gulf to the Thousand Lakes forming its sources, was christened Louisiana, for the French monarch, and claimed for his sovereignty, by Robert Cavelier, commonly known, under a title referring to his land estate, as the Sieur de la Salle, who, on the great southern prairies, commanded a small company of zealous explorers; and by Daniel Greyselon Du Luth, who ranged through the great northern woods, with a few Frenchmen and Indian helpers to perform the labor of canoeing and camping.

Under instructions from La Salle, at his Fort Crèvecoeur on the Illinois river, a canoe exploration of the Mississippi upward from that river was undertaken in the early spring of 1680 by a little party of three Frenchmen, including the Franciscan priest, Father Louis Hennepin. On their way, probably near the Iowa river, they were met and taken into captivity by a war party of a hundred and twenty Sioux, in thirty-three birch canoes. Returning to their homes, the Sioux took their prisoners up the Mississippi to the site of St. Paul, and thence overland to the vicinity of Mille Lacs. After nearly two months of captivity there, the Frenchmen, with a very large expedition of these Indians for hunting buffaloes, came by the usual canoe route down the Rum river and the Mississippi; and on one of the early days of July these Frenchmen gazed with admiration on the Falls of St. Anthony, which were so named by Hennepin for his patron saint. About three weeks were spent in the buffalo hunting, and on the return up the Mississippi, probably near the site of La

Crosse, Hennepin and the Sioux were met by Du Luth, who, with an Indian interpreter and four French soldiers, in two canoes, had come from lake Superior by the Bois Brulé and St. Croix rivers.

Du Luth had visited the Sioux in the Mille Lacs country during the preceding year, very probably coming by the way of the St. Louis and Savannah rivers to Sandy lake and the Mississippi, 555 with descent of this river to the Crow Wing. He now boldly reprimanded the Indians for their treatment of Hennepin and his two French comrades, which produced a marked change in the demeanor of the savages. They all returned together to the Mille Lacs villages, where Du Luth, in an Indian council, further exerted his influence as a French fur trader to require due respect for any French visitors coming to the Sioux country. In the autumn, Du Luth and Hennepin, with the other Frenchmen, left the Sioux, from whose chief they received a rudely traced map for four hundred leagues of their canoe route down the Mississippi, up the Wisconsin, and down the Fox river, to Green bay and Mackinac.

By these travels the upper part of the Mississippi, then called the River Colbert, became known to the French of Canada. Three years later, Hennepin's publication, in Paris, of his “Description of Louisiana, Newly Discovered Southwest of New France,” spread the knowledge of the discovery of the upper Mississippi through all Europe. His map in that book delineates the course of this river from its source to the Illinois and a little farther south, noting the Rum river, the St. Croix, Chippewa, Black, Wisconsin, and Illinois rivers, as its eastern tributaries, but having no indication of the Ohio; and on the west its only tributary noted is the Minnesota. From the south limit of Hennepin's observation of the Mississippi a lightly dotted line, marking its probable southward course, runs to the middle of the north side of the Gulf of Mexico. The Spanish maps of rivers seen by De Soto were not utilized to fill in the country at the south, across which the name of this new region, La Louisiane, is printed.

The laconic announcement of Du Luth's death, given in a letter of May 1, 1710, reads: “Captain Du Lud died this winter; he was a very honest man.” Such commendation has been denied by many historians to Hennepin, because of falsehoods under his name in a later book published at Utrecht in 1697, which passed into many editions and translations. After reading his early work, and comparing it with this later work, which may have been edited by some one else without revision by Hennepin, I am inclined to agree with the conscientious historian, Dr. John G. Shea, and with Archbishop Ireland, in their arguments 556 showing that Hennepin, though not free from the somewhat excusable fault of vanity, was probably truthful in all his writings, not authorizing the false claim of a voyage down the Mississippi to its mouth, which the later publication asserted to have been made by him. It is to be much regretted, however, if Hennepin was innocent of complicity in these false statements, that we have no record of his denial and remonstrances against them. He died at some undetermined date, in 1701 or later.

LA SALLE, 1682.

The proudest hour in the life of La Salle, among all his great efforts for the glory of France and extension of her dominion, was when, on the ninth day of April, 1682, at the mouth of the Mississippi, or River Colbert, he erected a wooden column and a cross, affixing upon the column the arms of France, with an inscription, “Louis the Great, King of France and of Navarre, Reigns.” The Te Deum and other hymns of thanksgiving and of loyalty were sung, and La Salle proclaimed, in a loud voice, that he took possession of the vast geographic basin drained by the Mississippi for the king of France, while his lieutenant, Tonty, Father Membré, and twenty other Frenchmen shouted, “Vive le Roi.” La Salle called the new realm Louisiane. The greater part of it, lying west of the Mississippi, was purchased from Napoleon by the United States in 1803, under the name Louisiana, including the western two-thirds of the area of Minnesota.

La Salle did not know very definitely of the previous explorations by Pineda, Narvaez, and De Soto and Moscoso; and he deliberately ignored them, so far as they might confer upon

Spain any rights of territorial ownership. He thought that the great river discovered by De Soto might lie east of the one which he had followed to the sea. The claim for France in his edict at the mouth of the Mississippi extended east to “the great river St. Louis,” as he renamed the upper Ohio and Allegheny rivers, supposed rightly to be continuous with the river of De Soto's grand discovery and death; and it reached west on the gulf to the River of Palms, between the Rio Grande and the Panuco. It was limited on each side by the actual Spanish settlements in Florida and in Mexico. Long afterward, the Louisiana 557 Purchase embraced the present state of Texas, and the subsequent acquisition of that area by the United States in 1845 was a re-annexation.

Leaving the Illinois river February 13th, La Salle and his company of about fifty French and Indians proceeded slowly down the Mississippi, hunting and fishing almost every day to supply themselves food, and visiting with the numerous Indian tribes. April 6th they arrived at the head of the passes, or branches of the river, in the delta, where the mighty stream divided into three channels, each of which was examined and reported to be suitable for navigation, wide and deep. The length of the western channel was noted as about three leagues. Accounts of this expedition were written by La Salle, Tonty, and Membré, and in recent times much biographic information concerning La Salle has been published by Sparks, Parkman, and Margry; but no map of the Mississippi drafted at that time has come down to us. In following all the winding course of the river, it would indeed have been a very difficult task to map it with general accuracy. It was thought to trend westward so that its mouths would not coincide with the River Espiritu Santo of the Spanish coastal charts, but rather with some other of the several rivers entering the gulf farther west.

A detailed map of the river's mouths in 1682, then probably for the first time leisurely examined by white men, would be of great interest to geologists, for a study of the subsequent growth of the delta. We must be content, however, with the few meager statements already given. Better information was gathered seventeen years later. Iberville and Bienville, brothers destined to become illustrious by founding the French colony of Louisiana, entered the eastern mouth of the delta with rowing boats, March 2, 1699; and

in September of the same year a small English frigate entered one of the mouths and ascended the river to the English Turn, a great bend ten miles below the site of New Orleans. These are the earliest historic records of entries at the river's mouths.

The chart of the delta drafted by these early English adventurers was used by Daniel Coxe in a map published in 1722, in his “Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane.” 558 This is the earliest map showing the mouths of the Mississippi with considerable detail, the date of its information being 1699. It represents the eastern passes and the south pass as much shorter than the southwest pass, which last was described by La Salle as having a length of about three French leagues (8.28 statute miles). Coxe wrote: “The Three great Branches always Navigable by Shipping, are situated about 6 Miles distant from each other, and unite all at one Place with the main River, about 12 Miles from their Mouths.”

Another detailed map of this delta, far more elaborate, by Bellin, the distinguished French engineer, was published in 1744, in Charlevoix's great work, “Histoire de la Nouvelle France.” Between the dates represented by these maps, the south pass had been much extended, while the others showed little change.

After these early dates, until 1885, when the admirable maps of the lower part of this river from surveys of the Mississippi River Commission were issued, each of the passes was extended six to eight miles into the gulf, and the eastern passes became more complex, with broad adjacent mud flats. Humphreys and Abbot, in 1861, determined the average yearly advance of all the passes to be 262 feet, which would amount to about five miles in a hundred years; and they estimated that a period of about 4,400 years has been occupied by the extension of the delta from the vicinity of Plaquemine and the Bayou Manchac outward into the gulf. When the delta was seen by Vespucci, four centuries ago, it probably terminated ten to fifteen miles back from the present head of the passes, where an old branching delta front is shown by the map of the Mississippi River Commission, in the continuation of the curving line of the Chandeleur islands and Breton island.

LE SUEUR, 1683–1700.

It remains for us to consider only one other of the ancient French explorers of the Mississippi, who also was the first explorer known to history on the Minnesota river. Pierre Charles Le Sueur, born in Canada in 1657, came to the Mississippi by the way of the Wisconsin river in 1683. The remaining years of the century, excepting expeditions for the sale of furs in Montreal 559 and absence in voyages to France, he spent principally in the country of the Sioux. He was at Fort St. Antoine, on the east shore of lake Pepin, with Perrot, in 1689. At some time within a few years preceding or following that date, he made a canoe trip far up the Mississippi, this being the first recorded exploration of the river through the central part of our state. Le Sueur related (Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 171, 172) that he ascended the river more than a hundred leagues above the Falls of St. Anthony, which statement, according to Brower, places the northern limit of his exploration in the vicinity of Sandy lake.

Very probably Charleville, whose narration of a similar early expedition of a hundred leagues on this part of the Mississippi is preserved by Du Pratz, was a companion of Le Sueur, so that the two accounts refer to the same canoe trip. Charleville said that he was accompanied by two Canadian Frenchmen and two Indians; and it is remarkable that Charleville, like Le Sueur, was a relative of the brothers Iberville and Bienville, who afterward were governors of Louisiana. At the limit of the canoe voyage up the Mississippi, in the case of both Le Sueur and Charleville, according to their separate narrations, the Indians informed them that its sources were still far distant, consisting of many streams.

Thus the discovery of the Mississippi by white men, at successive times during two centuries, from its mouths to Sandy lake, was completed. More than a hundred years later, in 1804 to 1832, its upper waters and principal source were explored by Morrison, Pike, Cass, Beltrami, and Schoolcraft. It was from first to last a grand task, and it was chiefly accomplished by the French, opening to civilization the most fertile regions of our continent. Of these brave men and their achievement, John Fiske well wrote: “The

exploration of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, with the determination of their relations to each other, was the most important inland work that was done in the course of American discovery."

Le Sueur sailed from Montreal to France in 1696, taking samples of a blue or green earth which he had found on the Blue Earth river. It was assayed by L'Huillier, an officer of the king; and, with the belief that it was a valuable copper ore, Le Sueur was commissioned to open mines in the region which is now Minnesota. But disasters and obstacles deterred him from this 560 project until the year 1700, when, having come from a second visit in France, with thirty miners, to Biloxi, near the mouth of the Mississippi, he ascended this river with his mining party in a sailing and rowing vessel and two canoes, going onward up the Minnesota river to the Blue Earth. This was the earliest continuous expedition along nearly the whole navigable length of the Mississippi; and very interesting accounts of it, and of the mining and dealings with the Sioux, were written by Penicaut, a carpenter in the party, and by La Harpe, the latter receiving the narrative directly from Le Sueur's journal. It was a splendid, but fruitless enterprise, for the remarkable colored earth, of which a great amount was mined, and the best of it carried to France, was worthless as a source of copper or any metallic product.

The route of Le Sueur's upward voyage, and of his return to Biloxi in 1701, was doubtless through lakes Borgne, Pontchartrain, and Maurepas, the Amite river, and the Bayou Manchac, which flows out from the Mississippi six miles above (east of) Plaquemine. Pineda and Moscoso had taken the same route, as before shown, so that the resulting maps, accepted as true during more than a hundred and fifty years, represent this as the chief debouchure of the Mississippi. Their error was learned in 1682, when La Salle went to the river's mouths in the delta. The Bayou Manchac was also called, by the early French in Louisiana, the Akankia (or Ascantia) and the River d'Iberville. This convenient route of navigation to and from the Mississipi was much used until New Orleans was founded, in 1718. It was a part of the eastern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, in 1803, which thus

included, east of the Mississippi, “the island of New Orleans,” a hundred and fifty miles long, with a maximum width, south from Misissippi sound, of fifty miles.

The question of Dr. Walter B. Scaife, whether the Rio del Espiritu Santo of the Spanish geographers was the Mississippi,* receives a definite and affirmative answer from this review of the general early use of the route by the Bayou Manchac, which caused the debouchure of the Mississippi to be quite erroneously

* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Extra Volume XIII, 1892, entitled “America, its Geographical History, 1492–1892,” Supplement, pp. 139–176. Other authors who have followed Dr. Scaife in doubting the identification of the Rio del Espiritu Santo as the Mississippi, considering it instead to be probably the Mobile river and bay, are Peter J. Hamilton, “Colonial Mobile,” 1897, pp. 9–13; Frederic A. Ogg, “The Opening of the Mississippi,” 1904, pp. 8–21; and Prof. Alcee Fortier, “A History of Louisiana,” 1904, vol. i, p. 4. The two last named belong to the interval between the writing of this paper and its printing (in October, 1904).

561 mapped until the time of La Salle's expedition to its true mouths. A year after Scaife, but independently, the same question was also raised by Brower and Hill in their very valuable work on the history of the Mississippi river, presented in Volume VII of this Society's Historical Collections; but the present study leaves to me no doubt that the lower Mississippi was seen successively by Vespucci, Pineda, Narvaez, and De Soto. It was reserved for French explorers, Groseilliers and Radisson, in 1655, and Joliet and Marquette, in 1673, to be the first Europeans on the upper Mississippi, more than a century after the disastrous early Spanish expeditions.

History of Prairie Island .

The first locality in Minnesota inhabited by white men, Prairie island, also called by former writers Bald island, in translation of its old French name, Isle Pelée, deserves further notice, for it was the site of an important early trading post. Forty years after Groseilliers

and Radisson came there, Le Sueur established a fort, that is, a trading post, on this island, in 1695, of which Bénard de la Harpe, in the introduction of his narrative of Le Sueur's mining expedition in 1700, wrote as follows, according to Shea's translation (Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, 1861, p. 90):

…What gave rise to this enterprise as far back as the year 1695, was this. Mr. Le Sueur by order of the Count de Frontenac, Governor General of Canada, built a fort on an island in the Mississippi, more than 200 leagues above the Illinois, in order to effect a peace between the Sauteurs nations [Ojibways], who dwelt on the shores of a lake of five hundred leagues circumference, one hundred leagues east of the river, and the Scioux, posted on the Upper Mississippi. The same year, according to his orders, he went down to Montreal in Canada with a Sauteur chief named Chingouabé and a Sciou named Cioscate [Tioscate, p. 107], who was the first of his nation who had seen Canada…

Penicaut, in his relation of Le Sueur's expedition, which he accompanied, wrote of Prairie island, as translated by Alfred J. Hill in Volume III of this Society's Historical Collections:

At the end of the lake [Pepin] you come to Bald Island, so called because there are no trees on it. It is on this island that the French from Canada established their fort and storehouse when they come to trade for furs and other merchandise, and they also winter here because game is very 36 562 abundant in the prairies on both shores of the river. In the month of September they bring their store of meat there, procured by hunting, and after having skinned and cleaned it, place it upon a sort of raised scaffold near the cabin, in order that the extreme cold which lasts from the month of September to the end of March, may hinder it from corrupting during the winter, which is very severe in that country. During the whole winter they do not go out except for water, when they have to break the ice every day, and the cabin is generally built on the bank, so as not to have to go far. When spring arrives the savages come to the island, bringing their merchandise, which consists of all kinds of furs, as beaver, otter, marten, lynx, and many others—the bear skins are generally used to cover the canoes of the savages and Canadians. There are

often savages who pillage the French Canadian traders, among others the savages of a village composed of the five different nations, and which have each their own name, that is, the Sioux, the people of the big village, the Mententons, the Mencouacantons, the Ouyatespony, and other Sioux of the plains. Three leagues higher up, after leaving this island, you meet on the right the river St. Croix.…

In a careful examination of this large island, during the spring of this year 1902, Hon. J. V. Brower, while mapping about two hundred and fifty aboriginal mounds there, found only very scanty indications, in a single place, about a half mile south from Sturgeon lake, on the high bank west of its outlet, of any ancient dwelling or inclosure, constructed by Europeans, such as Le Sueur's fort. It probably was merely a rude log cabin, inclosed by a palisade, both soon decaying and leaving scarcely any traces recognizable after two centuries. Yet its thus leaving almost no sign seems not inconsistent with the statements of Penicaut, which imply that during several years, before and after Le Sueur's commission in 1695, Prairie island was an important station of French traders.

From Charlevoix, in the third volume of his History of New France, published in 1744, I translate the following brief description of this island:

On going above the lake [Pepin], one comes to Isle Pelée, so named because it has not a single tree, but is a very beautiful prairie. The French of Canada have often made it the center of their trade in these western districts, and many have also wintered there, because all this country is excellent for hunting.

Apparently this note was simply condensed from Penicaut, and I cannot refer to any evidence of the occupation of the island 563 by white traders after the year 1700. It has perhaps been continuously occupied by the Sioux since that date; for numerous families of these people still live there, on land which they cultivate, allotted to them by the United States government, about a mile west of the supposed site of Le Sueur's post. All the other very extensive cultivatable land of the island is owned by white immigrants.

Services of Groseilliers and Radisson for the Hudson Bay Company .

In the short biographic sketches of these brothers-in-law, given at the beginning of this paper, their services for England, again for France, and later in a second desertion from their own country to England, were noticed, all belonging to the period after their western expeditions to Minnesota. Not comprehending their discovery of the Mississippi river, and esteeming the peltries of the north to be far more promising for acquisition of wealth than any traffic, colonization, and development of the fertile western and southern country beyond the great lakes, Groseilliers and Radisson in their long persevering ambition looked earnestly to the vast inland sea or bay of Hudson, to be acquired for its fur trade, as they at first hoped, by France; but as they later plotted, when smarting under the injustice of the governor of Canada and the court of France, it was the motive of Radisson's writings to attain lucrative and commanding positions in the service of English patrons, establishing them in the commerce of that northern region. It was largely through the efforts of these two French adventurers, alternating in their allegiance between the great rival powers of France and England, that the Hudson Bay Company was founded, in 1670, and grew in the next two decades to be an important ally of the English colonies and power on this continent.

Reviewing the conduct of these men in their relations to the two governments under which they were thus successively employed, we see good ground for excusing their first defection from France; but their wavering allegiance, three times changed, betokens a selfish and petulant spirit, rather than a noble loyalty to either their native or their adopted country. The 564 high-handed seizure by Radisson, in 1684, of the French post on Hayes river commanded by his nephew, though enriching the English, was the work of a despised traitor, and failed to win either a large pecuniary reward or the respect of the Hudson Bay Company. It brought the distinction of being considered by the king of France as a dangerous enemy.

Groseilliers is supposed to have died at his Canadian home, refusing the overtures for going back to a second residence and service with the English. Radisson, having married an English-woman, spent many years there in obscurity, until his death, as a pensioner of this great commercial company. They each possessed in a very full degree the qualities of sympathetic comradeship, coolness and courage in dangers, cheerful endurance of hardships, and fondness for adventure and life in the wilderness, which insured success for the French and Scotch voyageurs, where the different temperaments of English or German colonists would have made any attempt by them to act the same part as pioneer explorers and traders a dismal failure. They contributed to the founding of New France, which reached from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi to its mouth; but in all that domain which they and their compatriots discovered and won for the mother country, she now retains no possession.

To Whom belongs the Honor of Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River and Minnesota ?

Not much of thanks or praise can be awarded to Groseilliers and Radisson for their being the earliest Europeans on the upper Mississippi river, and in the area of Minnesota; for they failed to discern the important geographic significance of the great river, and designedly concealed from their countrymen, so far as possible, all knowledge of their travels. If we may compare this inland region with the much grander discovery of the continent, the expeditions of these first pioneers seem somewhat like the unfruitful voyages of the old Northmen, reaching our northern shores but not understanding the value of their work, long before the purposeful first voyage of Columbus, which, though indeed with the belief that the islands found were merely outliers of Farther India, gave to civilization a new hemisphere. 565 With similar intelligence and patriotism came Joliet and Marquette, to whom, second on the upper Mississippi, in 1673, belongs rightly, as I believe, the highest honor of its discovery, because they made known what they found. Let the glory of praise and gratitude, which during more than two hundred years has been

accorded to them, continue with undiminished luster in the minds of future generations. Likewise let the names of Du Luth and of Hennepin and his companions be held in lasting honor for their being the first of white men to make known their explorations in Minnesota.

But we should also commemorate the work, so long concealed from historians, by which Groseilliers and Radisson earlier reached this mighty river and first saw the fair country that nearly two centuries later became our territory and state. The first of white men within the area of this commonwealth, their landing at Prairie island in the spring of 1655, with a large company of Indians, who were met by others of their exiled tribesmen already establishing their homes on the island, is a subject well worthy of the painter's skill, and well deserving of a place among the mural decorations of our new state capitol. Beside it, also; we should have the picture of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, by which treaty, under Governor Ramsey and Luke Lea, our Territory acquired from the red men so great a part of its area for the white men's farms, towns, and cities, and for all that belongs to the progressing civilization of our Anglo-Saxon people,

“The heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time.”

Chronologic Summary .

The following summary of the dates and events noted in the foregoing pages will be convenient for reference, and as a kind of index to the career of Groseilliers and Radisson in their relation to Minnesota and the Northwest.

1621.

Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, born in France.

1635.

Pierre Esprit Radisson born in France.

1641.

Groseilliers came to Canada (or perhaps a few years earlier).

566

1641–'46.

Groseilliers was a layman helper of Jesuit missionaries, and learned the Huron and Algonquian languages.

1647.

He married Helene Martin, who died in 1651.

1647–'53.

He was a fur trader, probably making yearly trips to the country of the Hurons.

1647–'50.

Radisson, probably as a sailor boy, visited London, Italy, and Turkey.

1651.

May 24, Radisson arrived in Canada.

1652.

He was captured by the Iroquois, and lived nearly a year with them on the Mohawk river.

1653.

He escaped to Fort Orange (Albany), sailed to Holland and France, and in the spring of 1654 returned to Three Rivers, Canada. Groseilliers married Marguerite Radisson, a sister of Pierre.

1654.

August 6, Groseilliers and Radisson started on their first western expedition (the third voyage in the series of Radisson's narration), with a party of Hurons and Ottawas. They spent the winter among the Indian tribes in the region of Mackinac and Green bay.

1655.

In the early spring, Groseilliers and Radisson, and about 150 Indians, traveling with snowshoes, crossed southern Wisconsin to the Mississippi river near the site of Prairie du Chien; spent three weeks in building boats; and ascended the Mississippi to Prairie island, arriving there about the first of May. Groseilliers staid on the island through the summer and autumn, superintending the Indians in raising and storing corn; but Radisson went with a hunting party of the Indians, journeying southeastward to the Illinois river, and spent four months in going “from river to river.”

1656.

About the middle of June, a council of more than 800 Indians was held on Prairie island. With difficulty Groseilliers and Radisson persuaded them to undertake a large expedition to Montreal and Quebec, braving the expected attacks of the Iroquois. They left Prairie island late in June, or about the first of July, and reached Lower Canada late in August, bringing furs of great value.

1657.

From the summer of 1657 to the spring of 1658, Radisson was in an expedition to the Onondagas in central New York (placed as the second voyage in his narration).

1659.

In August, with a company of Ojibways and other Indians, Groseilliers and Radisson started on their second western expedition; spent twenty-two days in canoe travel, by the Ottawa and Mattawa rivers and lake Nipissing, 567 to Georgian bay; stopped a few days for rest at the Sault Ste. Marie; and coasted along the south shore of lake Superior to Chequamegon bay, arriving there probably near the end of September. They waited twelve days, and then marched four days southward through the woods to a lake about eight leagues in circuit, probably Lac Courte Oreille, where a council of the Hurons, Menominees, and other Indians, was held, with bestowal of gifts. After the first snowfall, late in October or early in November, the Indians separated to provide food by hunting.

1660.

Early in January, the Hurons, and Groseilliers and Radisson, came together at an appointed rendezvous, a small lake, probably Knife lake or some other in its vicinity, in Kanabec county, Minnesota. A terrible famine ensued, and was made more severe by the arrival of a large company of Ottawas. More than 500 Indians perished, and the two Frenchmen barely survived.

After the famine, twenty-four Sioux came to bring presents for Groseilliers and Radisson, and eight days were occupied with feasting. The Hurons, and delegations from eighteen tribes or bands of the Sioux, then met at a prairie or clearing chosen near the former rendezvous, apparently in the neighborhood of Knife lake. Ceremonial feasting, athletic trials of strength and skill, singing, dancing, and bestowal of gifts, occupied the next three weeks; and a large party of Crees, being specially invited, joined in the later part of this

great celebration of alliance with the French. This took place in the second half of March and beginning of April.

During April and May, Groseilliers and Radisson visited the Prairie Sioux, probably on the Minnesota river, traveling thither probably afoot by way of the Rum river and down the Mississippi, but passing south to the Minnesota by way of the series of lakes in the west part of Minneapolis, and returning, with a company of Ojibway traders in canoes, by the Minnesota, Mississippi, and St. Croix rivers. They reached Chequamegon bay in the later part of May.

Soon after the first of June, they crossed the west end of lake Superior, apparently about 20 or 25 miles east of Duluth, visiting the Crees near the site of Two Harbors.

With a great escort, 300 or more of the Indians in sixty canoes, Groseilliers and Radisson arrived at Montreal on the 19th of August, having spent twenty-six days in coming down from lake Superior. They brought, as in 1656, a very valuable freight of furs. The governor of Canada, Argenson, reprimanded them for going on this expedition without his authority, and imposed very heavy fines, so that Groseilliers went to France to plead for redress, but in vain.

1663.

Groseilliers and Radisson sailed in a New England ship to Hudson strait, hoping to enter Hudson bay and establish trading posts; but the captain refused to go farther, on account of the approach of winter.

1665.

Groseilliers and Radisson went to England, and aided in forming the Hudson Bay Company, which was chartered in 1670. About that time, 568 Radisson married a daughter of John Kirke, who became a director of this company.

1674.

They returned to the service of France, in which they remained for the next ten years.

1684.

May 12, Radisson again entered the service of the Hudson Bay Company; but their offer was declined by Groseilliers, who probably died soon afterward in Canada. Radisson immediately voyaged to Hudson bay, and took possession of the chief French trading post, with a vast stock of furs, worth 7,000 pounds. During a few years afterward, till 1688, he continued in active-service, voyaging to Hudson bay.

1710.

After receiving a small pension from the Hudson Bay Company during more than twenty years, Radisson probably died early in the year 1710, in England, as at that time the pension ceased.

Bibliography .

The following alphabetic list comprises 107 books and papers, which treat more or less fully of Groseilliers and Radisson, by 63 authors. For each author who expresses opinions concerning the routes and dates of their western expeditions, a brief statement of these opinions is presented. Twenty-one of the authors thus cited have made special studies of the narratives of Radisson, as published in the year 1885. The others wrote earlier, or, if later, appear not to have perused his writings. A few citations have been added since this paper was first written, to complete the list, so far as known to me, to the date of its printing, in October, 1904.

American Historical Review , Jan., 1896; see *Campbell* .

Archives ; see *Canadian, France, New France, New York* , and *Quebec* .

Baker, Gen. James H . History of Transportation in Minnesota. (Minn. Historical Society Collections, vol. ix, 1901, pp. 1–34.) Groseilliers and Radisson are credited, in pages 3–4, with discovery of the upper Mississippi river in 1659, during their second expedition. They are thought to have crossed it “at an unknown and unascertainable point, probably between the mouth of Sauk river and the mouth of Rum river.”

Begg, Alexander . History of the North-West. (3 vols., Toronto, 1894–95.) Vol. i, pp. 71–74; vol. iii, p. 479. Groseilliers and Radisson are said to have passed from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, lake Winnipeg, and Hudson bay, in 1662. See *Jeremie, Oldmixon* , and *Ellis* .

Bell, Andrew , translator; see *Garneau* .

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Blakeley, Capt. Russell. History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota. (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. viii, pp. 303–418; read Oct. 12, 1896; published May, 1898.)

The first half of this paper, in pages 303–362, reviews the two western expeditions of these Frenchmen, referring them to the years 1654–56 and 1658–60. They are credited with an exploration of the upper Mississippi during the first of the expeditions, and with an overland journey to Hudson bay during the second expedition. Captain Blakeley was the earliest writer to give careful attention to the location of “the first landing isle,” which he thought to be in lake Saganaga. Extensive quotations from Radisson's narratives are presented, and these are compared with other writers, Spanish, French, and English, on early explorations of the upper Mississippi and of the country farther southwest, on the Ojibways and Crees, the fur trade, and Hudson bay.

Library of Congress

Blanchet, Hon. J.; see *New France, Collection de Documents*.

Bradley, A. G. Chronicles of the Hudson's Bay Company. (Macmillan's Magazine, vol. lxxxiii, pp. 231–240, Jan., 1901.) Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 232–5, as “born intriguers, restless, intrepid,…the practical founders of the Company.” This article is based on the histories of Willson and Bryce. It makes no allusion to Radisson's pretence of an overland journey from lake Superior to Hudson bay.

Brodhead, John Romeyn; see *New York, Documents*.

Brower. Jacob V. The Mississippi River and its Source: Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. vii, 1893. (Pages 360; with many maps, portraits, and other illustrations.)

In the parts of this work relating the early Spanish and French explorations, Mr. Brower had the assistance (as noted on page 290) of the late Alfred J. Hill, of St. Paul, Minn. Their discussion of the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson is in pages 47–58. It is thought, from evidences outside of Radisson's narratives, as the Jesuit Relations, that these two expeditions were in the years 1654–56 and 1658–60. During Radisson's long hunting excursion in the summer of 1655, he is supposed to have reached the Mississippi river, which is identified as “the great river that divides itself in 2.” No attention is given to the important question of the situation of “the first landing isle.”

The rendezvous on the land of the Sioux, in the second expedition, where starvation in midwinter was followed by the grand Indian council and feast, is conjecturally placed “between Kettle and Snake rivers in eastern Minnesota.” The Tatarga or Tatanga of Radisson are considered to be the Titonwan or Prairie Sioux, in southern and western Minnesota, who were visited by these two Frenchmen after the feast. Their journey thither would cross the upper Mississippi, though it received no mention. See *Hill*.

Library of Congress

Brower, Jacob V. Prehistoric Man at the Headwaters of the Mississippi River. (Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society, vol. xi, pp. 570 1–80; with many portraits, maps, and illustrations from photographs. Manchester, England; 1895.)

The following quotation is from page 21: “M. Groseilliers and M. Radisson, two Frenchmen of energetic habits but apparently illiterate minds, about two hundred and thirty-four years ago, passing west from Lake Superior, came in contact with the Sioux or Dakotas.…it is quite certain that these two first Europeans reached and crossed the Mississippi some thirty or forty miles above the present site of the city of St. Paul.…There is little doubt but that the two Frenchmen named…were the first Europeans who came in contact with the Sioux tribes.”

[This paper, in an abridged form, was also published in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. viii, part 2, pp. 232–269, issued Dec., 1896, the quotation here given being on page 242.]

Brower, Jacob V . Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi. Volume iii, Mille Lac. (Pages 140; 1900.) Vol. iv, Kathio. (Pages 136; 1901.) Vol. v, Kakabikansing. (Pages 126; 1902.) Vol. vi, Minnesota, Discovery of its Area. (Pages 127, 1903.)

Each of these quarto volumes, presenting investigations in archaeology and history, published by the author in St. Paul, Minn., is superbly illustrated by many maps, portraits, and views. They all have numerous references to Groseilliers and Radisson.

Volume iv has, on page 83, a portrait of Radisson, “from *The Great Company* , by Beckles Willson, Toronto, 1899…unauthenticated.” See *Willson* .

Volume vi, published March 20, 1903, treats of Prairie and Gray Cloud islands and their vicinity, and especially of the time and place of the earliest coming of these white men to the area of Minnesota, with elaborate discussion of their first expedition. Contributions from Henry Colin Campbell, Benjamin Sulte, and Warren Upham, are presented; and

afterward Mr. Brower, reviewing Radisson's narratives and these contributed papers, rejects the conclusion of Upham, that “the first landing isle” is Prairie island, formerly called Isle Pelée. This volume has been an incentive to present in the foregoing paper as full and clear evidences as possible for my view thus disputed, which, however, after weighing the opposing opinions, I still hold with unshaken confidence. See *Campbell, Sulte* , and *Upham* .

Bryce, Prof. George . The Further History of Pierre Esprit Radisson. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. iv, Meeting of May, 1898, section ii, pp. 53–66; 1898.)

Radisson's claim that he visited Hudson bay by an overland route from lake Superior is fully discussed and rejected. From the archives of the Hudson Bay Company, examined by Dr. Bryce in London in 1896, he traces Radisson as living in England, a pensioner of that company, till 1710, about twenty-five years beyond what had been previously known. The western expeditions are referred to the years 1658–60 and 1661–63.

Bryce, Prof. George . The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company. (Toronto, 1900.) Pages 3–11, and chapter V, “Two Adroit Adventurers,” 571 pp. 33–46; adapted from the paper of the Royal Society of Canada, already cited, a most valuable contribution to the history of these promoters of the founding and early enterprises of this Company.

Brymner, Douglas , Archivist; See *Canadian Archives* .

Concerning the assumed title of Groseilliers, Dr. Brymner wrote on page xxii of his Report for 1895: “The name of des Groseillers, taken from a small property, was Medard Chouart, but he is as little known by that name as Voltaire was known by his real name of Arouet, he being always spoken of by the name of des Groseillers, changed in one affidavit into ‘Gooseberry,’ the name literally translated into English being ‘gooseberry bushes.’”

Campbell, Henry Colin . Radisson's Journal: its Value in History. (Pages 88–116, in Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its Forty-third Annual Meeting, held December 12, 1895. Madison, 1896.)

Campbell, Henry Colin . Radisson and Groseilliers: Problems in Early Western History. (The American Historical Review, vol. i, pp. 226–237, Jan., 1896.)

Campbell, Henry Colin . Exploration of Lake Superior: the Voyages of Radisson and Groseilliers. (Parkman Club Publications, No. 2, pp. 17–35, Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 14, 1896.)

These three very interesting and exceedingly important papers, prepared and isued almost at the same time, cover in a great degree the same ground of discussion concerning the reliability of Radisson's narratives published by the Prince Society. The earlier discussions and studies of the chronology and routes of his voyages or expeditions by former writers, during the eleven years which had then elapsed after that publication, are reviewed; and a useful though concise bibliography of the sources of the history of Groseilliers and Radisson is presented in the last two pages of the Parkman Club paper. The sagacious conclusions of Campbell have been always helpful, and have generally been adopted, in the present monograph, which, however, is more positive and definite in discarding Radisson's claims to have traveled to the Gulf of Mexico and Hudson bay.

In relation to our Minnesota part of the western expeditions, a great indebtedness to Campbell must be acknowledged, in that he was the first, among the many authors considering the routes of these French explorers, to suggest that Isle Pelée, for a few years inhabited by the Huron refugees, was “the first landing isle,” so necessary to be identified for an understanding of the geography of that expedition. No other author has been so helpful and stimulating to me; and I think that no other has contributed so much to establish a true interpretation of Radisson.

Campbell's discussion of the situation of “the first landing isle,” in pages 25–26 of the third of these papers, is as follows: “Late in the winter, Radisson says, he and Groseilliers and 150 Indians traveled fifty leagues on snow shoes, came to the mouth of a river where they stopped to make boats, ascended the river for eight days, visted the Pontonemick, probably 572 Pottawattamies, and the Matenock, and continued their journey until they reached what Radisson calls ‘the first landing isle.’ Does Radisson mean to state that they crossed the upper peninsula of Michigan, ascended the Fox river and made their way to Bald Island [Isle Pelée or Prairie Island], in the Mississippi river? That long journey, which included fifty leagues on snow shoes, was remarkable, and Radisson's description of it plainly shows that the objective point could not be any of the islands in Lake Michigan or in Lake Huron. At the ‘first landing isle,’ Radisson and Groseilliers found many Hurons, in fact, the object of the journey seems to have been to find the Hurons, with whom Groseilliers had traded before the Iroquois had forced them to abandon their homes east of Georgian Bay. Radisson has recorded that during his southern trip of the summer before, he had tried to get his Huron companions to go with him to their countrymen who had fled to the land of the Sioux, meaning the upper Mississippi River. But it is very doubtful whether the Hurons had reached the Lake Pepin country at the time that Radisson says that he tried to persuade his Huron companions to go there, and it is far from being certain that the Hurons had reached Lake Pepin even by the time that Radisson says that he and Groseilliers found them on an island—‘the first landing isle.’”

It may be remarked, as to this discussion, that Radisson's narrative does not necessarily place the beginning of the long journey with snow shoes farther north than the neighborhood of Green bay, or even of lake Winnebago; that this journey ended at the side (not the mouth) of a river, where they made boats; that the two bands of Indians whom they found after canoeing eight days up the river are not named exactly as by Radisson, though very probably the first, as Campbell thinks, were Pottawattamies, while the second may have been Menominees; and that Perrot's Memoir, carefully considered in the foregoing pages, gives good warrant for the coming of the Huron and Ottawa refugees

to Prairie island as early as 1654 or 1653, and for their stay on that island during probably four or five years. We can therefore very confidently accept Campbell's suggestion that “the first landing isle” was Perrot's Isle Pelée, being the first place of abode of white men in Minnesota. See *Perrot* .

Campbell, Henry Colin . Père René Ménard, the Predecessor of Allouez and Marquette in the Lake Superior Region. (Parkman Club Publications, No. ii, vol. ii, pp. 1–24. Milwaukee, Wis., Feb. 10, 1897.) Pages 13–15 refer to the second western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson; their going southward from Chequamegon bay to the refugee Hurons at a lake “some eight leagues in circuit;” and the testimony of Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, who identifies this lake as probably Lac Courte Oreille, that the Indians had an old trail between it and Chequamegon, which trail, as Campbell shows, was undoubtedly the route traveled by these French traders and their Indian companions. See *Verwyst* and *McCormick* .

Campbell, Henry Colin . A short statement of doubt concerning the acceptability of Radisson's narrative of the first western expedition, and 573 especially of doubt that he then reached the Mississippi river, is contributed by Campbell to Brower's Volume vi of “Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi,” 1903, pp. 69–71. See *Brower* .

Canada, Royal Society of ; see *Bryce* and *Dionne* .

Canadian Archives, Reports on , by Douglas Brymner , Archivist. (Ottawa, 1881–1901.)

Report for 1883, Note C, pages 173–201, “Transactions betweene England and France relateing to Hudsons Bay, 1687.” Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed on pages 180, 181, 188, and 192, as guides of the first English voyages for fur trading on this bay.

Report for 1895, Note A, pages 1–83, “Relations of the Voyages of Pierre Esprit Radisson in 1682, 3 and 4.” Two journals of Radisson, in his original French, are here published, with their English translations made by Dr. Brymner. These journals, as he states in page

xxii of this report. were obtained in the Hudson's Bay House, London, from its Secretary, and are thought to be here published for the first time in their original language.

The first relates the voyages of 1682–3, when Radisson was employed by the French. An English translation of it, apparently made by Radisson, had been given in the Prince Society's volume.

The second, for the year 1684, when Radisson had again taken service with the Hudson Bay Company, is that of which a translation, probably by Gideon D. Scull, the editor, had been published in the same volume for the Prince Society.

Dr. Brymner comments briefly on these journals in pages xxii–xxiii.

See *France, Colonial Archives* .

Canadian Families, Genealogical Dictionary of ; see *Tanguay* .

Canadian Magazine , Toronto, May and June, 1899; see *Willson* .

Carey, Hon. John R . History of Duluth, and of St. Louis County, to the Year 1870. (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. ix, 1901, pp. 241–278.) Groseilliers and Radisson, at the beginning of this paper, “are said to have been the first white men to visit Minnesota.”

Charlevoix, Pierre Francois Xavier de . Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France. (3 vols., Paris, 1744.) Vol. i, pp. 476–482, 498. Relating only to the voyages by sea to Hudson bay and events there, after the expeditions to Minnesota.

Translation of this work, by John Gilmary Shea. (6 vols., New York, 1866–72.) Vol. iii, pp. 230–237, 261.

Coyne, James H ., Translator and Editor. Exploration of the Great Lakes, 1669–1670, by Dollier de Casson and De Bréhant de Galinée. (Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, vol. iv; Toronto, 1903.) In the Introduction of this work, the editor refers (page xvii) to the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, which he supposes to have been three in number, in the years 1654–56, 1658–60, and 1660–63. In the second they are thought to have reached the Mississippi river.

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Davidson, Rev. John Nelson. Missions on Chequamegon Bay. (Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, vol. xii, 1892, pp. 434–452.) Pages 434–5 refer briefly to Groseilliers and Radisson, and the date of their coming to Chequamegon bay is assigned to the autumn of 1661.

Davidson, Rev. John Nelson. In Unnamed Wisconsin. (Milwaukee, 1895.) Pages 2–8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 61, 176, 210, 277, 278. The first western expedition of these Frenchmen is referred to the years 1658–60, and the second to 1661–62.

Denonville, Marquis De, Governor of Canada; see *New York Documents*.

Dionne, Narcisse E. Chouart et Radisson. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. xi, for 1893, section i, pp. 115–135; and vol. xii, for 1894, sec. i, pp. 29–48.)

The first part of this memoir, published in volume xi, relates to the four land expeditions narrated by Radisson, of which the third and fourth, to the far west, noticed in pages 126–133, are the subject of the present paper. The second part, in volume xii, treats of Radisson's later narratives of voyages by sea to Hudson bay and the conflicts between the French and English in the establishment of the fur trade there.

The author ascribes the first western expedition of Groseilliers (here called Chouart) and Radisson to the years 1658–60. No attention is given to the statement that they traveled

far to the south, nor is there any discussion of the place of “the first landing isle.” On the supposition that the Jesuit Relation of 1660 describes this expedition, it is thought that it extended across the Mississippi to the Sioux of the prairie region.

After a year at home, the second expedition west, according to Dionne, was in 1661–63, including a trip to Hudson bay, as Radisson asserted, which is thought to have been by the way of the Lake of the Woods, lake Winnipeg, and the Nelson river. The routes of travel to the south and southwest from Chequamegon bay, bringing these traders into Minnesota, to the great council and feast with the Sioux and Crees, are not considered.

Dugas L'Abbe G. L'Ouest Canadien: sa Decouverte par le Sieur de la Verendrye, son Exploitation par les Compagnies de Traiteurs jusqu' a l'Annee 1822. (Montreal, 1896. Pages 413.) The careers of Groseilliers and Radisson are the theme of pages 21–37, chief attention being given to their voyages by sea to Hudson bay. Their land expeditions to the Northwest are assigned to 1658–60 and 1661–64, with a journey overland to Hudson bay in 1663, agreeing thus with Prud 'homme.

Ellis, Henry. A Voyage to Hudson's-Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California, in the Years 1746 and 1747, for Discovering a Northwest Passage. (London, 1748. Pages xxviii, 336.)

The part taken by Groseilliers and Radisson in the exploration of Hudson bay by sea voyages and in establishment of the fur trade there and founding of the Hudson Bay Company, is related in pages 71–77, partly as follows:

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“Mr. Jeremie, who was Governor at Port-Nelson, while it was in the Hands of the French, and who, without doubt, had better Opportunities of knowing the Matters of which he writes, than most other People, gives us this Account of the Matter. He says, that one Mr. de Groiseleiz, an Inhabitant of Canada, a bold and enterprizing Man, and one who had travelled much in those Parts, pushed his Discoveries at length so far, that he reached the Coasts of Hudson's-Bay from the French Settlement by Land. Upon his Return, he

prevailed upon some of his Countrymen at Quebeck, to fit out a Bark for perfecting this Discovery by Sea; which being done, and he landing upon the Coast,"…

The narrative tells further that disagreement with the Quebec merchants caused "Mr. Rattisson" to be sent to France with an appeal for redress; that "Mr. de Groiseleiz" later went also to France, but that both failed of their purpose to secure patronage of their plan for fur trading in the Hudson bay region; and that then they entered into service for the English.

"A Letter from Mr. Oldenburgh, the first Secretary to the Royal Society," is quoted in part as follows, concerning the alleged journey of Groseilliers and Radisson from lake Superior to Hudson bay: "these Men affirming, as I heard, that with a Boat they went out of a Lake in Canada into a River, which discharged itself North West into the South-Sea, into which they went and returned North East into Hudson's-Bay."

Thus the plausible pretensions of Radisson, partly as written in his narratives and partly as orally communicated to the King at Oxford, led a prominent officer of the highest scientific society in England to believe not only that these French adventurers went overland to Hudson bay, but even that they had crossed from lake Superior to the Pacific ocean, and thence had come back northeastward to Hudson bay. Assurance was gained, that these great bodies of water extended into proximity to each other; and a hope was raised, that between them might be found the greatly desired "Northwest Passage."

See *Jeremie* and *Oldmixon* .

Flandrau, Judge Charles E . The History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier. (St. Paul, 1900. Pages 408.) Groseilliers and Radisson are very briefly mentioned on page 3.

Folsom, W. H. C . Fifty Years in the Northwest. (St. Paul, 1888. Pages, 763.) In the expedition of these Frenchmen to lake Superior, which is referred to the year 1659, it is thought that they visited "the site of Duluth" (p. 488).

France, Colonial Archives Of .

Only small parts selected from the vast mass of the Colonial Archives of France have been published. These records, largely relating to the colonies of Canada and Louisiana, are of inestimable value for our early American history, but can contribute probably nothing on the period of this paper. Reports on their examination, so far as they concern Canada and the United States, have been published as follows:

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Notes pour servir à l'Histoire, à la Bibliographie, et à la Cartographie, de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents, 1545–1700. Par l'Auteur de la Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima [Henry Harrisse]. *Paris* , 1872. (Pages xxxiii, 367; including a good index.)

Report on French Archives, by Joseph Marmette ; included as a part of Dr. Douglas Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives for 1885, in pages xxii–lxxix.

Supplement to Dr. Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives. By Mr. Edouard Richard . [For] 1899. Ottawa, 1901. (548 pages.)

Harrisse stated (on page v) that the early archives belonging to the period of greatest interest in the present work, such as might contain references to the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, have been destroyed or cannot be found. He wrote, as translated: “The letters of Pierre Voyer d'Argenson, governor of Canada from 1658 to 1661, were in the Library of the Louvre (burned in the month of May, 1871); a part of those of M. de Montmagny, who administered the colony from 1636 to 1648, is at the National Archives; but the despatches of Louis d'Aillebout de Coulonges (1648–651–7), of Lauson (1651–1656), of the Marquis de Tracy (1665–1667), and of M. de Courcelles (1668–1672), cannot be found.”

This statement is quoted by Marmette (page xxviii), in 1885, and again by Richard (page 18), in 1899, as still presenting all that can be told for these parts of the early

archives relating to Canada, after their very thorough examinations of these exceedingly voluminous old manuscript records. They comprise, in total, nearly 30,000 registers, cartons (drawings), and papers, “in perfect order,” but “now located in the attic story of the Louvre, and anything but safe from the danger of fire.” (Richard's Report, pp. 1, 15.)

See *Canadian Archives, New France* , and *New York* .

Franquelin, J. B . Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale…contenant le Pays de Canada, ou la Nouvelle France, la Louisiane, etc., 1688. (The Lake Superior and Minnesota part of this ancient manuscript map is printed in Neill's History of Minnesota, frontispiece of the fourth edition, 1882; and Geol. Survey of Minnesota, Final Report, vol. i, 1884, pl. 2.) The river named on this map “R. des Grossillers,” flowing into the northwest side of lake Superior, near its west end, has been thought to be named for Groseilliers; but its position corresponds well with the present Gooseberry river, which would be the meaning of that French name. This is the translation of its Ojibway name, as stated by Rev. J. A. Gilfillan (Geol. Survey of Minn., Fifteenth Annual Report, for 1886, p. 454). See page 513 of this paper.

Garneau, Francois Xavier . History of Canada,…translated by Andrew Bell. (Montreal, 1866. Two volumes.) Pages 251–2, in volume i, refer to “two young traders,” who in 1659–60 made an expedition to lake Superior and the Sioux, according to the Relation and Journal of the Jesuits, 1660. “They confirmed the report of two other Frenchmen who visited lake Michigan four years previously.”

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Gary, George. Studies in the Early History of the Fox River Valley. (Oshkosh, Wis. [1901.] Pages 267, and Index.) The first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson is noticed in pages 17–20, and is referred to the years 1658–60. It is thought that they traveled by the way of the Fox and Wisconsin river valleys to the Mississippi.

Genealogical Dictionary of Canadian Families; see *Tanguay*.

Groseilliers, Medard Chouart, Sieur des, Letter in 1683; see *New France, Collection of Documents*, and *Neill*.

Guerin, Leon. L'Histoire Maritime de France. (Four editions, 1842–51.) Volume iii mentions the sea voyages of Groseilliers and Radisson, belonging to the period after their land expeditions to Minnesota.

Hebbard, S. S. History of Wisconsin under the Dominion of France. (Madison, Wis., 1890. Pages 178.) The western explorations of Groseilliers and Radisson are traced on pages 19–26. During Radisson's canoeing and hunting with the Indians in the summer of 1659 (the first expedition being referred to the years 1658–60), he is confidently believed to have entered the Mississippi river. The second expedition is thought to have occupied a single year, from the summer of 1661 to that of 1662.

Reviewing the achievements of Radisson, the author gives the following estimate of him: “This gay, rollicking Frenchman was a wise, brave, honest and great man. Few careers have blended so much of romance and solid service as his. The discovery of the Mississippi, the first exploration of lake Superior, the founding of a vast commercial enterprise which for two centuries controlled half the continent—how many among the famous have done so much as this?”

Hill, Alfred J. The Geography of Perrot, so far as it relates to Minnesota and the Regions immediately adjacent. (Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. ii, pp. 200–214. St. Paul, 1867; reprinted 1889.) This subject is very closely related to the geography and chronology of Radisson's Voyages. See *Perrot*.

Hill, Alfred J. Associated with Hon. J. V. Brower, as noted under his name, foregoing, in the history and discussion of the early Spanish, French, and English explorers of the Mississippi river (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. vii, 1893). Besides the

Appendix of this volume, in pages 305–352, Mr. Hill also contributed a large part of its historical and cartographical work, which is accredited to him explicitly in pages 289–292. The part thus contributed mainly by him fills pages 14–118, in which the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson are considered in pages 47–58. See *Brower*.

Historical Societies; see *Minnesota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin*.

Hosmer, James K. A Short History of the Mississippi Valley. (Boston, 1901. Pages 230.) The upper Mississippi is stated to have been reached by Groseilliers and Radisson in 1654 or 1655 (pp. 34, 42).

Hudson Bay Company. History; see *Bryce* and *Willson*. 37

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Incarnation, Marie (Guyard) de l'. Letters de la Réverende Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. Edited by P. F. Richaudeau. (Tournai, 1876. Two volumes.) Letter xxxv, dated at Quebec, August 27, 1670, as translated by Neill (Magazine of Western History, vol. vii, p. 418, Feb., 1888), says: “A Frenchman of our Touraine named des Groseilliers married in this country, and as he had not been successful in making a fortune, was seized with a fancy to go to New England to better his condition. He excited a hope among the English that he had found a passage to the sea of the north.”

(These Letters were originally published at Paris in 1681.)

Jeremie, Noel. Relation du Détroit et de la Baie d'Hudson. (Amsterdam, 1710.) This earliest writer on the travels of Groseilliers and Radisson, cited by several in later times, fell in with what was probably a general credence of Radisson's assertion that they went beyond lake Superior to lake Winnipeg, and thence to Hudson bay. See *Ellis, Oldmixon*, and *Sulte*.

Library of Congress

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791, the Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes; Illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Facsimiles. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1896–1901. 73 volumes, the last two being an elaborate index.)

Volume xxviii, 1898, pp. 229, 319–320. Following the conclusion of Campbell, as published in 1896, Thwaites regards the unnamed explorers mentioned in the Relation of 1656 as Groseilliers and Radisson, returning from their first western expedition. “They again journeyed westward, in the summer of 1659, and spent the winter near Lake Pepin, among the Sioux tribes then located southwest of Lake Superior” (p. 320).

Volume xlii, 1899, pp. 218–223, 296. Chapter xiv in the Relation of 1655–56 tells of the return to Lower Canada, in August, 1656, of “two young Frenchmen” from explorations and trading with the Indians in the region of the upper Great Lakes, as quoted in this paper (p. 474). Thwaites says in his notes: “The identity of these two French explorers was long unknown; but recent historical researches sufficiently confirm the opinion that they were Radisson and Groseilliers. This is the first mention (so far as known), in contemporary documents, of their discoveries.”

Volume xliv, 1899, pp. 237, 247, 324. “The two Frenchmen,” mentioned in the Relation of 1657–58 as having visited the Indian tribes west of lake Michigan, are identified as Groseilliers and Radisson.

Volume xlv, 1899, pp. 160–163. The Journal of the Jesuits for August, 1660, notes the arrival at Montreal, August 19th, of three hundred Ottawas. with Groseilliers in their company, as before quoted (p. 519). He had “wintered with the nation of the ox,” that is, the Sioux of the buffalo country.

The same volume xlv, in pages 233–239, has the account, in Chapter iii of the Relation of 1659–60, concerning “two Frenchmen,” not there named, 579 who returned in August, 1660, from the upper lake region, “with three hundred Algonquins, in sixty canoes loaded with furs.” This passage has been quoted (p. 517). The parallel account in the Journal of the Jesuits, just cited, makes it completely known that these pioneers of the fur trade were Groseilliers and Radisson.

As the Relations of 1656 and 1568 (vols. xlii and xliv) speak in a precisely similar manner of two French pioneer traders and explorers of the far west, without giving their names, it seems a very safe inference, with all the light on this subject given in the present paper, to regard them in each instance as the same, agreeing thus with the narratives of Radisson, and with Campbell's discussion of their chronology.

Volume xlvi, 1899, p. 69, mentions, in Chapter vi of the Relation of 1659–60, an alliance made with the Sioux by “the two Frenchmen who returned from their country this summer” (1660).

Volume xlvii, 1899, p. 279, states in the Journal of the Jesuits fer May, 1662, that early in that month Groseilliers and ten other men were on a voyage down the St. Lawrence, passing Quebec, with the intention of “going to the North sea” (Hudson bay), either in canoes, by the route of the Saguenay, or, more probably in a small sailing vessel, by the sea route around Labrador. See *Ellis* .

Jesuits, Journal of the , 1660 and 1662; see *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* , vols. xlv and xlvii.

Kerr, Prof. Robert F . The Voyage of Groseilliers and Radisson in the Northwest from 1652 to 1684. (South Dakota Historical Society Collections, vol. i, 1902, pp. 163–178.)

The purpose of this paper, as stated on its title page, is “to negatively settle the contention that these men visited Dakota.” A tradition has been variously published, which is here

given as follows: “Two young Canadian fur traders accompanied a party of Indians to the far west, in 1654, and, it is thought, were the first white men who entered the present Territory of Dakota.” A local newspaper writer, quoted by A. T. Andreas (Historical Atlas of Dakota, 1884, p. 176), claims that in 1654 the two traders reached Jerauld county, in South Dakota, between the James and Missouri rivers. Professor Kerr shows that this tradition, referring probably to the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, is not supported by Radisson's narratives, which he quotes at considerable length. He thinks that if they possibly came to South Dakota in either expedition, it was in the second, during the six weeks of their visit with the Praire Sioux, which he supposes to have been in the summer of 1659.

The two western expeditions are attributed to the years 1654–56 and 1658–60. It is thought that in the first expedition Groseilliers and Radisson “traversed a good part of the Mississippi,” and that they may have “visited the Missouri as far as the Platte;” but that they did not pass through South Dakota and Minnesota, on the ground of Radisson's assertion that they did not see the Sioux at that time.

Kingsford, William . The History of Canada. (Toronto, 1887–1898. 10 volumes.) Pages 1–12 and 45–49, in volume iii, 1889, notice the relation 580 of Groseilliers and Radisson to the beginnings of English commerce with the region of Hudson bay. The author ignores the narratives of the four land expeditions, ascribed to Radisson's authorship, in the volume published by the Prince Society, declaring that part to be “without value,” and apparently “the work of a writer of fiction.”

He says: “It is difficult to find authority for the statement put forth of the original discovery of Hudson's Bay by des Groselliers and Radisson, on which so much stress has been laid” (p. 5); and again: “The names of two common-place adventurers have obtained mention in the chronicle of those days, to which they are in no way entitled; from the circumstance that they were brought forward by the French, for want of a better argument to sustain their pretensions to early discovery” (p. 12).

Library of Congress

Kirk, Thomas H . Illustrated History of Minnesota. (St. Paul, 1887. pages 244.) The two western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 26–28 and 192. The first is referred to the years 1658–60; and the second, to lake Superior and the Sioux in Minnesota, is supposed to have been begun a few weeks later.

Laut, Agnes C . Heralds of Empire, being the Story of One Ramsay Stanhope, Lieutenant to Pierre Radisson in the Northern Fur Trade. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1902. Pages viii, 372.) This highly imaginative and exciting fiction makes Radisson its hero, of great daring, ambition, and adroitness, but entirely selfish and often resorting to falsehood. Its scenes are laid in Boston and London, on the sea, and in the region of Hudson bay, treating of a period later than Radisson's expeditions with Groseilliers to Minnesota.

Laut, Agnes C . The Real Discoverer of the Northwest; the Story of Radisson's Most Wonderful Journey. (Leslie's Monthly Magazine, vol. lviii, pp. 275–283; July, 1904.)

In this vivacious sketch, which purports to be based upon real history, the author gives an account of these Frenchmen and their dealings with the Indians on their western expeditions. She apparently considers the two journeys narrated by Radison as comprised in one expedition, from 1655 or 1656 to 1660, and that it extended westward to within sight of the outlying foothills of the Rocky mountains and “circled over the territory now known as Wisconsin, South Dakota, Montana, and back over North Dakota and Minnesota to the North shore of Lake Superior.” The chronology, routes of travel, various incidents, and sequence of events, which Radisson related, are confusedly intermingled.

A previous article by this author in the same magazine is entitled “The Real Discoverer of the Northwest; the Story of a Wonderful Boyhood” (vol. lvii, pp. 667–678, April, 1904). It gives a very graphic narration of Radisson's captivity among the Mohawks and his escape, belonging wholly to the time preceding the far western expeditions.

Library of Congress

Legler, Henry E . Leading Events of Wisconsin History. (Milwaukee, 1898. Pages 322.) The travels of Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 24, 47–51, and 137. Although Chapter ii details somewhat fully 581 “The Strange Adventures of Radisson,” the routes and dates of the expeditions are not very exactly stated. Concerning their supposed journeying to the Mississippi river, the author thinks that “evidence is lacking to prove the surmise.”

Leslie's Monthly Magazine , April and July, 1904; see *Laut* .

Lucas, C. P . A Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Volume V. Canada. Part I (New France). (Oxford, England, 1901. Pages 364.) Voyages of Groseilliers and Radisson by sea to Hudson bay, 1668–1684, are noticed in pages 185–7. Their pretended overland journey to the Bay from lake Superior is doubted.

Macalester College Contributions , St. Paul, Minn., 1890, 1892; see *Neill* .

McCormick, Hon. Robert Laird . Press History of Sawyer County, Wisconsin. (Hayward, Wis., April, 1898. Pages 20.) The second western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson is noticed in pages 4–5 and 7, being referred to the years 1659–60. Lac Courte Oreille, in Sawyer county, is regarded as the destination of their journey of four days southward from Chequamegon bay, coming to a village of the Huron refugees. See *Verwyst* .

McCormick, Hon. Robert Laird . A short letter, dated Dec. 26th, 1902, is published by Hon. J. V. Brower in Volume vi of his “Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi,” 1903, p. 72. In this letter Mr. McCormick writes: “Historical students would welcome further information regarding the travels of these two explorers who doubtless saw the Upper Mississippi years before Joliet and Marquette, but in the absence of documentary testimony it is presumption to seriously claim that Radisson crossed Wisconsin on snowshoes from Green Bay to the Mississippi River in 1654–55.”

Macmillan's Magazine , Jan., 1901; see *Bradley* .

Magazine of Western History , Feb., 1888; see *Neill* , and *Incarnation* .

Manchester [England] Geographical Society , 1895; see *Brower* .

Marie De L'Incarnation , Letters; see *Incarnation* .

Martin, Sarah Greene , and Deborah Beaumont Martin , with Ella Hoes Neville . Historic Green Bay. See *Neville* .

Michigan Political Science Association ; see *Moore* .

Minneapolis, Metropolis of the Northwest . See *Morrison* .

Minnesota Historical Society Collections .

Volume i, 1850–56; reprinted, 1872; again reprinted, 1902. The Preface to the edition of 1902, and a note on page 3, identify “the two early French explorers and traders, long unknown by name, who first traveled to the upper Mississippi and the area of Minnesota in 1655–6 and again in the winter of 1659–60, as Groseilliers and Radisson.”

Volume ii, 1867; see *Hill* and *Perrot* .

Volume v, 1885; see *Neill* .

Volume vii, 1893; see *Brower* and *Hill* .

Volume viii, 1895–8; see *Blakeley* and *Brower* .

Volume ix, 1901; see *Baker* and *Carey* .

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Moore, Charles . The Discoverers of Lake Superior. (Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association, vol. ii, pp. 199–211. Ann Arbor, Jan., 1897.) The two western journeys of Groseilliers and Radisson are referred to 1658–60 and 1661–63. It is doubted that they saw the Mississippi, but the claim of an overland trip to Hudson bay is accepted. The chronology carefully studied out a year before by Campbell is considered and rejected.

Moore, Charles . The Northwest under Three Flags, 1635–1796. (New York, 1900. Pages xxiii, 402.) These Frenchmen are noticed in pages 9–21, nearly as in the preceding paper; but the second expedition is supposed to end in 1662, and no mention is made of its alleged continuation to Hudson bay.

Morrison, Andrew , Editor. Minneapolis, Metropolis of the Northwest. (1887. Pages 218.) Groseilliers and Radisson are mentioned at length as the first white men in Minnesota, and later, through their influence in England, founders of the Hudson Bay Company (pp. 9, 10).

Neill, Rev, Edward Duffield . The History of Minnesota, from the earliest French Explorations to the Present Time. (Four editions, 1858, 1873, 1878, and 1882.)

In all the editions, pages 103–4 briefly mention Groseilliers and Radisson, and credit to the former a journey, in or about 1659–60, to lakes Superior and Winnipeg, and thence to Hudson bay, being conducted thither by the Assiniboines.

The preface of the third edition credits to them an expedition in 1659 to La Pointe and Chequamegon bay; thence to the Hurons in northwestern Wisconsin; thence to the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota, wintering with the Sioux; thence, in 1660, to lake Winnipeg, and onward to Hudson bay; with return by the same route to lake Superior, and to Montreal on the 19th of August, 1660.

The same matter is presented, with changes and the addition of biographic details, in the fourth edition, pages 803–5 and 855; but the journey to Hudson bay is there referred

to a later expedition of Groseilliers, in 1662–3, by way of lake Nepigon instead of lake Winnipeg.

Neill, Edward D . Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, 1881–82. Pages 1–128.) This was published as the first part in numerous histories of counties and districts of this state, including Dakota, Hennepin, and Ramsey counties, each a separate volume, 1881; Washington county and the St. Croix Valley, 1881; and the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1881. It was also published the next year in the histories of Fillmore, Freeborn, Houston, and Rice counties, and of the Minnesota Valley, five volumes.

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Chapter I, in six pages, refers somewhat fully to Groseilliers and Radisson. An expedition by them to lake Superior is referred to the years 1659–60; and a second expedition, also to lake Superior, but continuing thence to Hudson bay, is thought to have been made in 1660–62.

Neill, Edward D . Discovery along the Great Lakes. (Chapter V, pp. 163–197, in Vol. iv, 1884, of Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.) Pages 168–172, 197.

Neill, Edward D . Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. v, 1885, pp. 401–4.

Neill, Edward D . Groseilliers and Radisson, the First Explorers of Lake Superior and the State of Minnesota. (Magazine of Western History, vol. vii, pp. 412–421, Feb., 1888.)

The first western expedition is said to have begun in June, 1659, the return being in August, 1660; and Neill's description combines parts of what Radisson relates for both the first and second western expeditions. Neill states that Groseilliers and Radisson went again to lake Superior in the same year 1660, starting August 27 with Father Menard; that Groseilliers returned to Lower Canada in 1661, but went back, to seek a route to Hudson bay, in 1662; and that he and Radisson, and also other Frenchmen who had gone with

them to lake Superior in 1660, returned August 5, 1663. The pretended journeys to the Gulf of Mexico and to Hudson bay overland are not mentioned.

The following foot-note, on page 413, explains why so little care was taken to follow the narratives of Radisson in this confused and unwarrantable account of the expeditions to the region of Minnesota: “The Journals of Radisson, published by the Prince Society of Boston, in 1885, cannot be trusted for dates, but are correct in the description of the customs of the tribes he visited.”

Neill, Edward D . Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. x, 1888, pp. 292–297. Accepting the supposed chronology of the Prince Society's volume, the first western expedition is referred to the years 1658–60, and the second to 1662–'63 or '64.

Neill, Edward D . Macalester College Contributions, first series, 1890; pp. 86–94, 223–4. The expedition to lake Superior, narrated by Radisson, is restricted to about one year, in 1659–60; and two later expeditions by Groseilliers are noted, with return from the last August 5, 1663. Perrot's account of the wanderings of the Hurons and Ottawas is translated; but no suggestion appears that Radisson's “first landing isle,” not here mentioned, was their place of refuge, “Prairie island (Pelée)” on the Mississippi.

Neill, Edward D . Macalester College Contributions, second series, 1892; pp. 152–158, giving a translation of a “Letter of Sieur des Groseilliers, the first white man to conduct an expedition to the Sioux.” This letter, believed to be the only one extant of his writing, was addressed to the Marquis Seignelay at Paris in 1683, concerning the recent hostilities and reprisals 584 between the French and English on Hudson bay. See *New France, Collection de Documents* .

Neville, Ella Hoes, Sarah Greene Martin , and Deborah Beaumont Martin . Historic Green Bay, 1634–1840. (Green Bay, Wis., 1893. Pages 285.) The first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson, is noticed in pages 17–24 and 40. The authors say of Radisson's Voyages, that “his journal is a valuable addition to history; his quick wit

brightens all that he looked upon." It is thought that this expedition was in 1658–60, reaching the Mississippi in 1659; and that a part of the ensuing winter was spent "near the headwaters of the Chippewa." Nothing is said of "the first landing isle." The second expedition is not considered, because its route did not include Green Bay.

New France.—Collection De Documents Relaties a l'Histoire de la Nouvelle-France . [Edited by Hon. J. Blanchet , Secretary of the Province of Quebec.]

The more complete title of this work reads as follows: Collection de Manuscrits, contenant Lettres, Memoires, et autres Documents Historiques relatifs a la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Quebec, ou copiés à l'étranger; mis en ordre et édit és sous les auspices de la Legislature de Quebec; avec table, etc. (Quebec, 1883–85. 4 volumes, chronologically arranged, 1492–1789; indexed.)

Groseilliers and Radisson, in their voyages to Hudson bay and conduct there, 1681–84, are noticed in Volume I, pages 283, 296–7, 302–3, 314–16, 318, 319, 320, 324, 331–2, 337, 360, 394.

Under the year 1683, but without more exact date, is given a "Lettre de Mons. Desgroseilliers au Ministre" (p. 314–16), which is evidently the same as that of which Dr. Neill later published an English translation in his "Macalester College Contributions" (Second Series, 1892, pp. 152–8). Neither Blanchet nor Neill, however, designates the source whence the letter, as thus respectively published, was obtained. The French and English versions differ somewhat in spelling proper names and in other details; and the latter has some short passages which were wanting, or were illegible, in the original French letter. See *Neill* .

New York: Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York ; procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent,…Edited by E.

B. O'Callaghan, M.D. (Albany, 1853–8, 10 volumes; with a General Index, Vol. xi, 1861, and vols. xii–xiv, 1877–83, edited by B. Fernow.)

Volume ix, 1855, mentions Groseilliers and Radisson in pages 67, 221, 251, 268, 305, 428, 794–801, and 919. The most important statements, as related to the present research, are on page 305, in a “Memoir in proof of the Right of the French to the Iroquois country and to Hudson's Bay,” which was sent from Quebec, Nov. 8, 1686, by Denonville, Governor of Canada, to Seignelay in Paris, Minister of the Marine and Colonies. Denonville wrote: “The English in justification of their pretended right to the North Bay may allege that they made the first discovery thereof;…finally, 585 that in 1662 they established themselves there, having been conducted thither by Radisson and des Groselliers to the head (*fonds*) of the North Bay.…

“The settlement made by the English in 1662 at the head of the North Bay does not give them any title, because it has been already remarked, that the French were in possession of those countries, and had traded with the Indians of that Bay, which is proved still better by the knowledge the men named Desgroselliers and Radisson had of those parts where they introduced the English. They had traded there, no doubt, with the old French Coureurs de bois. Besides, it is a thing unheard of that rebellious subjects could convey any right to countries belonging to their Sovereign.”

O'Callaghan, E. B ., Editor; see *New York, Documents* .

Ogg, Frederic Austin . The Opening of the Mississippi, a Struggle for Supremacy in the American Interior. (New York, 1904. Pages 670.)

The far western travels of Groseilliers and Radisson are considered in pages 53–56. Their first expedition is conjectured to have been in 1654–56, they being the unnamed French traders who are mentioned in the Jesuit Relation. A second expedition is thought to have been made by Groseilliers in 1658–59, “trading and exploring on the shores of Lake Superior,” with return to the St. Lawrence “in the spring of 1659.” Next, “within a few

weeks," Groseilliers and Radisson traveled again to lake Superior, this time exploring the south shore to La Pointe and Chequamegon bay, spending the winter in "many excursions among the surrounding tribes," and returning to Lower Canada in the summer of 1660.

Groseilliers and other traders are said to have made a later expedition to lake Superior, going in August, 1660, and returning in 1663.

It is thought that they did not reach the Mississippi river in any of these expeditions, though coming to some of its eastern tributaries. This author makes no reference to Radisson's assertions that they went to the Gulf of Mexico and to Hudson bay.

Oldenburg, Henry , Secretary of the Royal Society, London, 1663–77; see *Ellis* , citing a letter from him.

Oldmixon, John . The British Empire in America. (Second edition, London, 1741. Two volumes.)

The last article of volume i, in pages 542–567, entitled. "The History of Hudson's-Bay," has the following on page 544: "Monsieur Radison and Monsieur Gooselier, two Frenchmen, meeting with some Savages in the Lake of Assimponals in Canada, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the English had not yet been; upon which they desired them to conduct them thither, and the Savages accordingly did it. The two Frenchmen returned to the upper Lake the same way they came, and thence to Quebec."…

The narrative proceeds with their efforts to interest the merchants of Canada and France, and later of England, in the establishment of the Hudson Bay fur trade. It indicates that Radisson's assertion of their visit to 586 Hudson bay by land during the second western expedition was generally believed in England.

See *Ellis* and *Jeremie* .

Ontario Historical Society , vol. iv, Toronto, 1903; see *Coyne* .

Parker, Gilbert . The Trail of the Sword. (New York, 1894.) Of this novel, portraying Radisson's career, Prof. George Bryce says (Proc. Royal Society of Canada, 1898, sec. ii, pp. 53–4): “The character, thoroughly repulsive in this work of fiction, does not look to be the real Radisson.…We shall find Radisson alive a dozen or more years after the tragic end given him by the artist.”

Parkman, Francis . La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West.—The Introduction, in the editions of 1893 and later, refers to the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson as made in 1658–9, probably reaching the Mississippi.

Parkman, Francis . The Old Régime in Canada.—In the editions of 1894 and later, a foot-note on pages 137–8 cites Radisson's account of the destruction of Daulac, or Dollard, and his party at the Long Saut. It is supposed that the time of the second western expedition, at the end of which this is related, places it three years after its true date, which was in May, 1660.

Parkman Club Publications , Milwaukee, Wis., 1895–8; see *Campbell* and *Stickney* .

Parliamentary Manuscripts , 1685–6 and 1690; cited by Kingsford.

Perrot, Nicolas . Memoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Relligion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Publié pour la première fois par le R. P. J. Tailhan, de la Compagnie de Jesus. (Leipzig and Paris, 1864. Pages 341, with pages xliii of Index and Table of Contents.)

An extended quotation has been given (pp. 523–525), translated from pages 85–88 in Chapter XV of this book, concerning the settlement of the fugitive Hurons and Ottawas for a few years on Isle Pelée (Prairie Island).

Quotations covering a somewhat larger part of Perrot's work have been elsewhere published, in translation, first in 1867 by Alfred J. Hill in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. ii, pp. 200–214, reprinted in 1889; and by the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. xvi, 1902, pp. 10–21. The occupation of Prairie island by the Huron and Ottawa exiles, as thus noted, was very intimately connected with the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson. It is indeed a key to the correct understanding of the routes of their first expedition, and to the identification of Prairie island as Radisson's “first landing isle.”

Perrot's Memoir fills 156 pages; and the notes of the Rev. J. Tailhan, as editor, fill pages 157–341. Both parts shed much light on Radisson's narratives.

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Potherie, De Bacqueville de la. Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale. (Paris, 1722. 4 volumes.) Pages 141–145, in the first volume, treat of the connection of Groseilliers and Radisson with the establishment of the fur trade in the region of Hudson bay.

Prince Society Publications.

Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from Original Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With Historical Illustrations and an Introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England. (Boston, Mass., 1885. Pages 385.)

Discussions concerning the historical value and meaning of this volume, with extensive quotations from it, form the foregoing paper.

Library of Congress

Radisson's original French manuscripts of the voyages to Hudson Bay in 1682–84 have been since published by Douglas Brymner, with his translations. See *Canadian Archives, Report for* 1895.

Prud'homme, L. A. Notes Historiques sur la Vie de P. E. de Radison. (St. Boniface, Manitoba, 1892. Pages 62.)

At the beginning of this pamphlet, the author gives an eloquent summary of Radisson's life and character, which, translated by Prof. George Bryce, is in part as follows:

“What a strange existence was that of this man. By turns discoverer, officer of marine, organizer and founder of the most commercial company which has existed in North America, his life presents an astonishing variety of human experiences.

“He may be seen passing alternately from the wigwams of the miserable savages to the court of the great Colbert; from managing chiefs of the tribes to addressing the most illustrious nobles of Great Britain.

“His courage was of a high order. He looked death in the face more than a hundred times without trepidation. He braved the tortures and the stake among the Iroquois, the treacherous stratagems of the savages of the West, the rigorous winters of the Hudson Bay, and the tropical heat of the Antilles.

“Of an adventurous nature, drawn irresistably to regions unknown, carried on by the enthusiasm of his voyages, always ready to push out into new dangers, he could have been made by Fenimore Cooper one of the heroes of his most exciting romances.…

“The celebrated discoverer of the North-West, the illustrious La Verendrye, has as much as Radisson, and even more than he, of just reason to complain of the ingratitude of France; yet how different was his conduct!

“Just as his persecutions have placed upon the head of the first a new halo of glory, so they have cast upon the brow of the second an ineffaceable stain.

“Souls truly noble do not seek in treason the recompense for the rights denied them.”

The two western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson are reviewed in pages 22–36, the first being referred to the years 1658–60, and the second 588 to 1661–64, with a trip from lake Superior to Hudson bay, or at least to its southern part, called James bay, in 1663.

Quebec, Archives of the Province of ; see *New France, Collection de Documents* .

Radisson, Peter Esprit ; see *Prince Society Publications* , and *Canadian Archives* .

Robinson, Doane . South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. ii, October, 1904, part i, p. 87; part ii (“A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians,” 523 pages), p. 21. It is thought that Groseilliers and Radisson possibly journeyed into South Dakota.

Robson, Joseph . An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay, from 1733 to 1736, and 1744 to 1747…to which is added an Appendix; containing, I. A short History of the Discovery of Hudson's-bay, etc. (London, 1752. Pages 84, and Appendix of 95 pages.) The efforts of “Rattisson and De Groiseleiz” to establish the fur trade on Hudson bay, first for merchants in Canada, and afterward for those of Boston and of London, are narrated in pages 4 to 11 of the Appendix. Nothing is said of their pretended overland journey to Hudson bay from lake Superior.

Royal Society of Canada ; see *Bryce, Dionne* , and *Sulte* .

Scull, Gideon D ., Editor; see *Prince Society Publications* .

Shea, John Gilmary . History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River. (Historical Collections of Louisiana, embracing translations…Part iv; New York, 1852. Pages lxxx,

of introduction, etc., by Shea, and 268, of translations, etc.) On page xxii, “De Groseilles and another Frenchman” are mentioned as having wintered on lake Superior in 1658, visiting the Sioux, and learning, from the fugitive Hurons, of a great river, evidently the Mississippi. This statement was based on the Jesuit Relation for 1660, and on the Journal of the Jesuits for the same year.

Shea, John Gilmary , translator; see *Charlevoix* .

South Dakota Historical Society Collections .

Volume i, 1902; see *Kerr* .

Volume ii, 1904; see *Robinson* .

Stickney, Gardner P . The Use of Maize by Wisconsin Indians. (Parkman Club Publications, No. 13, vol. ii, pp. 63–87, Milwaukee, Wis., March 9, 1897.) Pages 75 and 84–5 give Radisson's testimony of cornraising in abundance by the Pottawattamies, and scantily by the Sioux; but the very noteworthy cultivation of much corn by the refugee Hurons on “the first landing isle,” which is identified in the present paper as Prairie island, is not mentioned, probably because its situation had not been ascertained.

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Sulte, Benjamin. Histoire des Canadiens-Francais, 1608–1880. (8 vols., Montreal, 1882–84.) Vol. ii, p. 144; iv, p. 143; v., pp. 5–22, 55, 64, 65, 96–99, 146, 151; vii, pp. 10, 12.

The first western expedition is referred to the years 1654–56, relying on the Jesuit Relation of the latter year. Sulte affirms that the second western expedition started in the autumn of 1659; wintered near lake Pepin, on the Mississippi, among the Sioux of the Buffalo Prairies; and returned to the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1660. He concludes that Groseilliers and Radisson were certainly on the upper Mississippi in the second expedition, and perhaps also in the first.

Jeremie is cited in vol. v, pp. 8, 9, 13, 14, as stating that Groseilliers probably visited Manitoba and Hudson bay by land and canoe routes from lake Superior.

Sulte, Benjamin. Chronique Trifluvienne [Chronicle of Three Rivers]. (Montreal, 1879.) Pages 164–5, 188–9, 233.

Sulte, Benjamin. Le Pays des Grands Lacs, 1603 à 1660. (Published in *La Canada-Francais*, Quebec, 1889–90.)

Sulte, Benjamin. Pages d'Histoire de Canada. (Montreal, 1891.) Pages 276, 341, 367.

Sulte, Benjamin. Thirty-three articles in *Le Canadien*, St. Paul, Minn., Jan. 21 to Sept. 30, 1897, give the conclusions reached by this author in his later studies of Groseilliers (whom he commonly calls Chouart) and Radisson, reviewing carefully their two western expeditions and their service for the English in the region of Hudson bay. Their first expedition to the west is supposed to have been in 1658–60, with a visit to the region of Chicago in the spring of 1659. Sulte traces their travels afterward as passing north by Green bay to the south side of lake Superior, west to Chequamegon bay, southwest to the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers; and thence, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, returning to Green bay. “The first landing isle” he places at the mouth of this bay. No credence is given to the alleged journey south to the Gulf of Mexico.

August, 1661, and August, 1662, are noted as the dates of beginning and end of the second expedition, the account of a summer spent on Hudson bay being rejected. Groseilliers and Radisson are stated to have traveled then, for a second time, along the south shore of lake Superior to Chequamegon; and thence to the Nation of the Buffalo (the Sioux) in the neighborhood of the present city of St. Paul, but without detailed discussion of the route thither. According to Sulte, the great feast with the Sioux was somewhere near the site of St. Paul. The later travel north of Lake Superior, in the country of the Crees,

is thought to have extended to Pigeon river, but not farther, toward either Manitoba or Hudson bay.

Sulte, Benjamin. A series of many articles by Mr. Sulte in *Echo de l'Ouest*, Minneapolis, Minn., beginning April 11, 1902, treats of the early 590 French explorations of this region. Groseilliers and Radisson are considered in the issues of July 11 to August 15, but much less fully than in *Le Canadien* , 1897. Their second western expedition is here assigned to 1662–63.

Sulte, Benjamin . A summary of studies and conclusions on this subject, chiefly condensed from the two preceding series of articles, is contributed to Hon. J. V. Brower's Volume VI of “Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi,” 1903, pp. 74–84. See *Brower* .

Sulte, Benjamin . Decouverte du Mississippi en 1659; read May 20, 1903. (Memoirs of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. ix, section i, 1903, pp. 3–44.)

In this latest statement of his prolonged studies of the explorations of Groseilliers and Radisson in the far west, Sulte writes of their first western expedition, thought to have been from 1658 to 1660. Groseilliers is said to have staid with the Mascoutins on the upper Fox river during the summer of 1659, while Radisson descended the Wisconsin river to the Mississippi, and thence went up the Mississippi past lake Pepin to Isle Pelée, returning to the Fox river after canoeing four months with the Indians. Next the two Frenchmen are thought to have voyaged in the autumn of 1659 to the Sault Ste. Marie, and west to Chequamegon bay, and to have visited the Sioux in the winter of 1659–60.

Their travel along the south shore of lake Superior and visit with the Sioux are thought to have been repeated again in their second expedition.

Tailhan, Rev. J ., Editor; see *Perrot* .

Library of Congress

Tanguay, L'Abbe Cyprien . Dictionnaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiennes, depuis la Fondation de la Colonie jusqu'a nos Jours. (Montreal, 1871–1890. Seven volumes.) Records of the birth, marriages, and children, of “Chouart, Medard, Sieur des Groseilliers,” are given in volume i, page 129; and “Radisson, (De) Pierre-Esprit,” is mentioned on page 507, as marrying a daughter of “chevalier Kertk.”

Thwaites, Reuben Gold . Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin. (Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. xi, 1888, pp. 64–96.) This paper consists of extracts from the Prince Society's volume of Radisson's Voyages, with editorial notes. The expeditions to Wisconsin and Minnesota are considered to have taken place in 1658–60 and 1661–2. Radisson in his four months of hunting with the Indians, referred to the year 1659, is believed to have discovered the Mississippi.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold . The Story of Wisconsin. (Boston, 1891. Pages 389.) Groseilliers and Radisson are the theme of pages 37–46 and 370, the same views being stated as in the foregoing and following papers.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold . The Story of Chequamegon Bay. (Wisconsin Historical Society Collection, vol. xiii, 1895, pp. 397–425, with a map.)

The first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson, referred to 591 the years 1658–60, is thought to have reached to the Mississippi river. Their second trip west, skirting the south shore of lake Superior to Chequamegon bay, is ascribed to the autumn of 1661, with extension to the lakes of Manitoba in 1662, followed later in the same year by their return to the Lower St. Lawrence.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold , Editor; see *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* , Edition of 1896–1901 (73 volumes). The notes of this work confidently assign the western expeditions narrated by Radisson to 1654–56 and 1659–60.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold . Father Marquette. (New York, 1902. Pages 244.) These French traders are noticed in pages 69, 70, 100, 131, and 139. The first western expedition is referred to the years 1654–56, with possible discovery of the Mississippi river in 1655; and the second or lake Superior expedition in 1659–60 is said to have extended “as far into the northwest as Lake Assiniboine.”

Turner, Frederick J . The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin. (Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1889, pp. 52–98.) Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 63–5, the return from their first western voyage or expedition being referred to the year 1660. The author cites the opinion of Thwaites, “that in this voyage they, first of all French explorers, reached the Mississippi.”

Upham, Warren . My identification of Radisson's “first landing isle” as Prairie island was studied out in 1897–8, but was first publicly stated in an address on “Explorers and Maps of Minnesota,” at the graduation of the Mechanic Arts High School, St. Paul, June 13, 1899.

The principal parts of the foregoing paper were presented in three addresses before the Minnesota Historical Society, as follows: “The First White Men in Minnesota, Groseilliers and Radisson in 1655 at Prairie Island,” in the Annual Meeting of the Society, Jan. 13, 1902; “The Second Expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson to Minnesota, 1659–60,” March 10, 1902; and “Progress of Discovery of the Mississippi River, 1498–1700,” Oct. 13, 1902. Extended abstracts of the first and second of these addresses were published, respectively, by the *St. Paul Globe* and the *Minneapolis Times* , Jan. 14, and by the *Globe* , March 11, and the *Times* , March 13; and the first part of the third address was published in the *American Geologist* , August, 1902 (vol. xxx, pp. 103–111), under the title, “Growth of the Mississippi Delta.”

Library of Congress

Upham, Warren . Discovery of Minnesota and of the Upper Mississippi. (Contributed to Volume VI of Hon. J. V. Brower's Memoirs, this volume, published in 1903, being entitled *Minnesota* .)

This article, in pages 86–104, reviews the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson, and credits them with a stay at Prairie island during more than a year, from May, 1655, to June, 1656. It presents nearly 592 all that part of the foregoing paper which refers to this expedition, and also the discussion of the migrations of the refugee Hurons, including the translation of Perrot's account of their spending a few years on Isle Pelée (Prairie island). See *Brower* .

Verwyst, Rev. Chrysostom . Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard and Allouez, in the Lake Superior Region. (Milwaukee, 1886. Pages 262.)

Much of this volume is compiled by translation from the Jesuit Relations and from Perrot's Memoir. It treats of many topics that are closely related to the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, as the missions to the Hurons, Ottawas, Ojibways, Illinois, and other Indians, and the characteristics and customs of the various Indian tribes, west to the Sioux, and north to the Crees.

Pages 171–3, entitled “Groseilliers and Radisson, the Pioneers of the Northwest,” refer to their second expedition, coming to Chequamegon bay. They are regarded by Verwyst as identical with the two early French traders concerning whom he quotes from William W. Warren (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. v, 1885, pp. 121–2) an Ojibway tradition of their being found starving on the island of La Pointe.

Verwyst, Rev. Chrysostom . Historic Sites on Chequamegon Bay. (Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. xiii, 1895, pp. 426–440.)

“The first white men on the shores of Chequamegon Bay were in all probability Groseilliers and Radisson” (p. 433). They are here considered to be not the same with the two starving traders in the tradition related by Warren.

Verwyst, Rev. Chrysostom , states, as noted by Campbell in his paper entitled “Père René Myénard” (1897), that an Indian trail extended from Chequamegon bay to Lac Courte Oreille. This trail is regarded confidently as the route taken by these Frenchmen and their Huron escort, and the site of the Huron village is thought to have been at this lake. See *Campbell* and *McCormick* .

Willson, Beckles . The Great Company: being a History of the Honourable Company of Merchants-Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay. (Toronto, 1899.) Pages 23–34, 42–51, and 69–124; including chapters ii, iv, and vii–x.

The volume published by the Prince Society seems to have been neglected by this author, who gives only a scanty and quite unsatisfactory account of the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson. Their first expedition here mentioned is the second to the west, as narrated by Radisson, to lake Superior and to the Tobacco Hurons farther southwest; and it is regarded as occupying about one year, in 1659–60. Groseilliers is said to have made two other expeditions west within the next three years, not accompanied by Radisson. There is no reference to an overland journey by them to Hudson bay. They are stated to have been Protestants, Radisson from youth, being of a Huguenot family, and Groseilliers after his marriage with Radisson's sister. [See page 519 of this paper.]

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Nearly all of this narration relates to the period of their service with the English in the endeavors to build up the Hudson Bay fur trade. It is largely derived, as the author states, from a pamphlet entitled “French Villainy in Hudson's Bay.”

An etched portrait of Radission (since published also by Brower) is given on page 25, “after an old print;” and on page 124 he is said to have died at Islington,a suburb of London, in 1702. See *Brower* and *Bryce* .

Willson, Beckles . Early Days at York Factory. (Canadian Magazine, Toronto, vol. xiii, pp. 3–9, May, 1899.)

Pierre Radisson, Bushranger. (Canadian Magazine, vol. xiii, pp. 117–126, June, 1899.)

These articles preceded the publication of “The Great Company.” The first relates to Groseilliers and Radisson at Hudson bay in 1683. It has no illustrations, and says nothing of the land expeditions to the upper Great Lakes and the Mississippi.

The second article has a larger portrait of Radisson, said here to be “re-drawn from a rare old Paris print,” with seven other illustrations. It relates wholly to the affairs of Radisson at Hudson bay, and in France and England, during the years 1683–1702.

Winchell, Newton H . The Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, Volume I of the Final Report. (Minneapolis, 1884.) Chapter I, 110 pages, is a “Historical Sketch of Explorations and Surveys in Minnesota.” On page 3, Groseilliers and Radisson are stated to have spent the winter of 1659–60 with the Sioux in the region of Mille Lacs.

Winsor, Justin . Narrative and Critical History of America. (8 volumes; Boston, 1884–89.) Chapter v, pages 163–197, in vol. iv, 1884, by Rev. Edward D. Neill, treats of Groseilliers and Radisson in pages 168–172 and 197. See *Neill* .

Winsor, Justin . Cartier to Frontenac: Geographical Discovery in the Interior of North America in its Historical Relations, 1534–1700. (Boston, 1895. Pages 379.) Groseilliers and Radisson are noticed in pages 182–7, 195–8, 253. and 301. They are supposed to have made three expeditions to the region of lake Superior, in 1658–9, 1659–60, and 1660–63, in the second perhaps reaching the Mississippi river.

Wisconsin Historical Society Collections .

Volume x, 1888; see *Neill* .

Volume xi, 1888, in pages 64–96, under the title, “Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin,” reprints large parts of the Third and Fourth Voyages of Radisson, from the publication of the Prince Society. Many useful foot-notes are supplied by Reuben G. Thwaites, the secretary and editor.

Volume xii, 1892; see *Davidson* .

Volume xiii, 1895; see *Thwaites* and *Verwyst* .

Volume xvi, 1902, 514 pages, consists of translations from contemporary 38 594 French documents of the earlier and greater part (1634–1727) of “The French Regime in Wisconsin.” It includes extracts from Perrot's Memoir (pp. 10–21), which have an important bearing on the narratives of Radisson; but his own writings, having been previously quoted at length in Volume xi, are omitted from this compilation. See *Perrot* .

Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings , for 1889, see *Turner* ; for 1895, see *Campbell* .

Conclusion .

In view of the very diverse opinions expressed by the many writers cited in the foregoing Bibliography, concerning the routes and dates of the western expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson, it would certainly be unreasonable for the present writer to expect his studies and conclusions, stated in this paper, to be accepted without challenge and adverse discussions. It will yet require probably many years for historians to reach a general agreement as to the interpretation of Radisson's uncouth but exceedingly

interesting narratives of these earliest expeditions to the upper Mississippi river (if indeed he came there, which some deny) and to the area which is now Minnesota.

Careful studies of this subject during seven years have led me to believe, with full confidence, that the arguments and results here presented are true, and that they will ultimately be so received by all students of our Northwestern history.